

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE



THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE



FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXV.
FOR THE YEAR 1947.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO ANTIQUITY

9788

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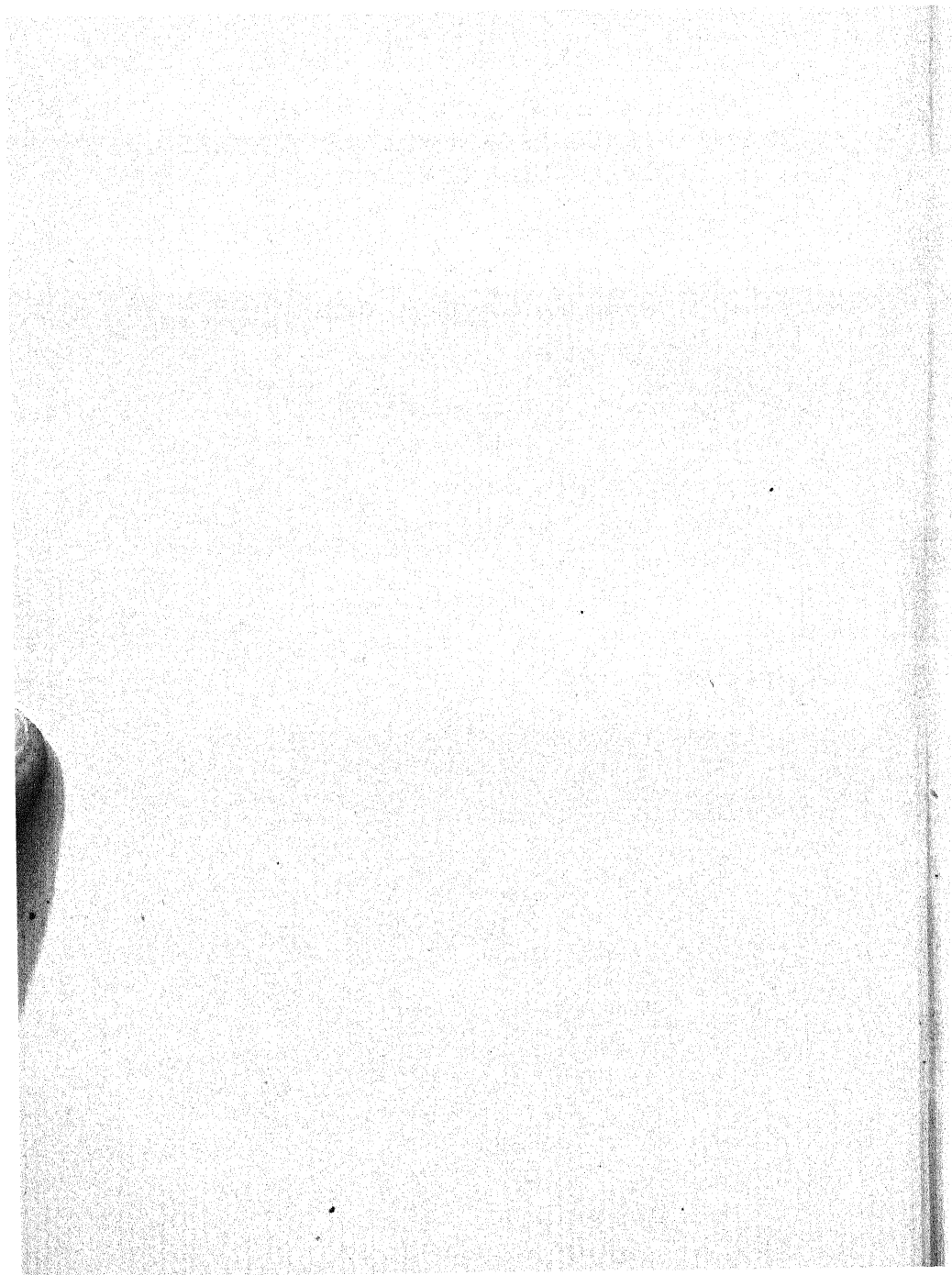
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I.—THE ORIGINS OF NORTHUMBRIA.

BY PETER HUNTER BLAIR.

1. *The Gildas Tradition.*

The historian who sets out to make an inquiry into the origins of Northumbria is much in the position of a man who tries to journey by night across the sands from Holy Island to the mainland opposite. He knows that there are guide-posts which will help him on his way if he can find them, and he knows also that if he strays from the track which they mark, he will do so at the risk of being swallowed in quicksands. The kingdom of Northumbria¹ came into being about the year 600 through the forcible coalescence of two originally separate units, the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. Bernicia was founded in 547.² So much is beyond reasonable doubt, even if the circumstances of its foundation are mere conjecture. But when we seek to determine even the date, much less the circumstances, of Deira's foundation, we find ourselves leaving firm ground behind with an uneasy awareness that we shall not reach it again until we have been carried back beyond the last days of Roman Britain. To disregard this period of uncertainty between Roman Britain and English Northumbria might, indeed, be the easiest course, but it could not fail

¹ The substance of this paper was read at a meeting of the *Arch. Inst.* in Burlington House 3 April 1946. I am grateful to Dr. I. A. Richmond and Prof. C. F. C. Hawkes for helpful criticism on several points, though I have not always agreed with their views. My debt to Prof. H. M. Chadwick has accumulated for many years and is now unhappily beyond repayment. I alone, however, am responsible for the views I have expressed.

² Bede, *HE* v. 24. I hope to show elsewhere how this date was calculated.

to give a seriously distorted view of Northumbrian history as a whole. There is no justification for assuming from the comparative lack of evidence that this interval was a period of quiescence or of political stagnation. On the contrary, there is every indication that it was one of great vitality and of profound political changes whose consequences could not but greatly affect the course of later Northumbrian history.

Opinions about the merits of Gildas as a historian have varied greatly. For himself he never claimed that his work *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*³ was anything more than a letter or an admonishment (*admonitiuncula*).⁴ Bede called him *historicus*,⁵ and many other writers of the middle ages followed Bede's example. Modern writers have tended to regard Gildas as prophet and preacher rather than as historian,⁶ but of late there has been a growing realization that, whether prophet or historian, Gildas was a contemporary witness of a very obscure period in the history of Britain, and that therefore his work deserves to be taken seriously.⁷ He was by far the earliest writer to attempt a rational account of events in Britain between the end of the Roman and the beginning of the English periods, and furthermore his work served as the main source of information for later writers attempting the same task. To a large extent its errors and obscurities are due to the efforts of its author to produce a connected narrative despite the gaps in his sources, especially the native sources, of which he himself complained.⁸

³ Ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. Antiquiss.*, XIII, 1-85, also H. Williams, with translation and notes, in *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, no. 3. The work is cited hereafter as *Exc.*

⁴ *Exc.* I.

⁵ *HE* I, 22.

⁶ So Sir John Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 3rd ed., 139.

⁷ Cf. C. E. Stevens, *Gildas Sapiens*, *EHR* 56, 353-73, and F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2.

⁸ *Exc.* 4—*quantum tam potuero, non tam ex scriptis patriae scriptorumve monumentis, quippe quae, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta aut civium exilii classe longius deportata non compareant, quam transmarina relatione, quae crebris inrupta intercapedinibus non satis claret.*

The first stage in the inquiry must, therefore, be to consider what Gildas wrote about events in Britain, and more particularly in northern Britain, at the end of the Roman period. The expedition of Magnus Maximus to the continent, he wrote, robbed Britain of all her armed forces and the country, which was completely ignorant of the practice of war, was then left exposed for the first time to the ravages of two foreign tribes, the Scots from the north-west and the Picts from the north.⁹ In answer to an urgent appeal for help the Romans sent a legion to Britain, and after driving off the invaders, they told the inhabitants to build a wall across the island between the two seas as a protection. This they did, but it was no use because it was built of turf.¹⁰ As soon as the legions had gone, the old enemies came back across the sea and a second appeal for help was sent to the Romans. The appeal was answered, the enemies were again defeated and a second wall was built, but this time by the Romans themselves in their accustomed mode of structure.¹¹ At the same time towers were built along the southern shores of Britain as a protection against dangers threatening from that quarter. The Romans then urged the Britons to look to their own defence, and after leaving behind them patterns for the manufacture of arms, they departed as people who never intended to return.¹² As soon as the Romans had gone the Scots and Picts came back¹³ and seized the whole northern part of the land as far as the wall. The Britons tried to hold back the enemy by manning their fortifications, but the invaders broke through and the Britons abandoned their wall and their cities. To these external disasters were added further troubles caused by tumults within, and in their distress they sent a third appeal to the Romans, addressing it to Aetius in his third consul-

⁹ Exc. 14.

¹⁰ Exc. 15.

¹¹ Exc. 18—*solito structuræ more*, which may be taken to mean that this second wall was of stone.

¹² Exc. 17, 18.

¹³ Exc. 19.

ship. The appeal was not answered. Some of the Britons gave up the fight, but others fought on and inflicted a severe defeat on their enemies.¹⁴ Soon after, the Scots—or the shameless Irish attackers, as Gildas calls them here¹⁵—went home, to return again before long. Of the Picts he says that then and long afterwards they settled down in the furthestmost part of the island with occasional pillaging and devastation.¹⁶

After their victory the Britons entered upon a period of prosperity. Gildas indicates that this period lasted a considerable time, and although it was not a kind of prosperity of which he could approve, he admits that it was an age of such wealth as none who came after could remember.¹⁷ In due course the threat of invasion was renewed and was accompanied by a deadly pestilence. To meet these new perils the proud tyrant¹⁸ and his councillors decided to invite the Saxons into Britain in order that they might repel the invaders from the north. Three shiploads of Saxons arrived, and on the instructions of the tyrant they first settled in the eastern part of the island. When news of the success of their expedition reached their homeland, another contingent was sent and the Britons supplied them with provisions as if they had been soldiers about to fight for their hosts. All went well for a time, but eventually there was a dispute about their rations, and finally the Saxons revolted, causing widespread destruction all over the island from sea to sea.¹⁹ After a while some of the Saxons returned home and the Britons, led by Ambrosius Aurelianus, won

¹⁴ Exc. 20.

¹⁵ Exc. 21—*impudentes grassatores Hiberni*.

¹⁶ Exc. 21—*Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, praedas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes*. Williams, *op. cit.*, translates, "began their successive settlements," implying that these Picts were new settlers from elsewhere. This is not in keeping with the interpretation which Bede seems to give to this passage, *HE* I, 14—*Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps quieverunt. praedas tamen nonnunquam exinde et contritiones de Brettonum gente agere non cessarunt*.

¹⁷ Exc. 21.

¹⁸ Exc. 23—*superbus tyrannus*. Gildas does not give his name.

¹⁹ Exc. 23-4.

a victory over those that remained.²⁰ From that time sometimes the citizens, sometimes the enemy were victorious until the siege of *Mons Badonicus*.

This narrative is sufficiently convincing in its broad outlines to justify the belief that it contains some truth, but in its details it presents two major difficulties which have done much to discredit it as a whole. The turf wall is stated to have been built after the departure of Magnus Maximus, and the stone wall at some unstated time after the turf wall. Gildas has certainly made a serious blunder, but his failure to solve an archaeological problem of which the solution is scarcely complete even yet, is not an adequate reason for rejecting all his information on other topics. The correspondence of archaeological and other evidence with details in his account of the building of the two walls suggests with some force that he was less mistaken than he appears to have been, and that the two appeals to Rome and the results which flowed from them should be taken to represent the reorganization of the Roman defences of Britain in 369 and again after 383.²¹ The second difficulty lies in the appeal which the Britons are alleged to have addressed to Aetius in his third consulship. Gildas does not precisely state the cause of the trouble which led to the sending of this third appeal for help, but the implication from the order of his narrative is that the appeal was for help against fresh incursions of the old enemies. But the consequences of this implication are difficult to accept. The appeal was not answered, some of the Britons gave up the fight while others fought on and won a victory, a period of prosperity followed, fresh dangers began to threaten, and finally the Saxons were called in to help. Gildas gives no indication of the interval of time which elapsed between the sending of the appeal to Aetius and the calling in of the Saxons, but if all these separate events are considered without reference to other sources, it might not seem unreason-

²⁰ *Exc.* 25.

²¹ C. E. Stevens, *op. cit.*, esp. 359-60.

able to suppose that they would have required a generation or more for their fulfilment. The appeal to Aetius cannot have been despatched earlier than 446, the first year of his third consulship, and if thirty years are added to this, Gildas seems to be saying that the Saxons did not come to Britain until after 475. The conclusion that there is some mistake in his narrative can only be avoided by virtually ignoring the item which seems to require the longest period of time, namely the phase of prosperity.²² If Gildas had used figures to record the date of the third appeal to the Romans, a textual corruption might have been suspected, but he did not use figures, and therefore the date must be allowed to stand. Nor can it be denied that some serious trouble befell Britain in the third consulship of Aetius, because Gildas quotes from the letter which was sent to Aetius, and was therefore working ultimately from a written document. It is possible, however, to ask whether this great trouble was in fact the trouble which Gildas supposed it to be. William Skene, who seems to have been the first to pose this question, suggested that the trouble which was recorded in the document quoted by Gildas was not due to fresh incursions from the north, but to the revolt of the Saxons.²³ This suggestion has again been advanced by Mr. C. E. Stevens²⁴ who has brought additional arguments to its support. The details of the British recovery are not recorded by Gildas, but its results are, so far as they concerned the enemies from the north. The Scots went home, and although Gildas says that they returned later, he does not refer to them again in his narrative. The Picts apparently withdrew to the north and confined their activities to periodical raids. The remaining part of the narrative—the period of prosperity, the renewal of trouble, the arrival of the Saxons

²² The difficulty is more readily apparent in Bede's narrative, *HE* i, 13-15, where he has left himself with only the three years 446-449 for the whole sequence of events from the appeal to Aetius to the arrival of the English.

²³ W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 35-6.

²⁴ *op. cit.*, 362-3.

and their eventual revolt—contains no inconsistencies in itself.

The blunder which Gildas made about the building of the walls is not a matter which need cause us any concern. He could not hope, any more than other historians or antiquarians down to the nineteenth century, to solve correctly a problem which could only be solved by scientific excavations. The problem raised by the appeal to Aetius is more serious. Are we entitled to suppose that Gildas made a mistake in the interpretation of one of his sources? The brief extract which he quotes from the letter to Aetius might refer equally well to a fresh incursion of the Picts and Scots or to the revolt of the Saxons, or perhaps even to a combination of the two. The question does not seem to admit of a proven answer, but I am inclined none the less to follow Skene and Stevens on the ground that it is difficult to make sense out of the narrative of Gildas without making some modification of this kind. There is no evidence that Gildas knew the dates of Aetius' third consulship, and he made no attempt to give a date for the arrival of the Saxons. The chronological difficulty raised by his own narrative may therefore never have occurred to him in the way in which it must surely have occurred to Bede, who knew both the initial date of Aetius' third consulship²⁵ and an approximate date for the arrival of the Saxons.²⁶ When it is recalled that the letter to Aetius need not have been dispatched until 453, the year before his fourth consulship, it will be seen that there is no chronological difficulty in the way of supposing the letter to have referred to the Saxon revolt. If this supposition is allowed, the phase of prosperity will have to be placed before, not after, the appeal to Aetius, and there will remain four points which are fundamental to the narrative of Gildas so far as it concerns northern Britain—that the troubles caused by the Roman withdrawal were followed by a phase of British recovery

²⁵ *HE* I, 13.

²⁶ *HE* I, 15.

and prosperity, that attendant upon this recovery the Scots were driven out and the Picts were driven back and finally that the Saxons were called in to help in the north at a time of renewed danger after the period of prosperity.

The second stage in this inquiry must be to consider certain later authorities who made use of Gildas, in order to determine what alterations they made to his narrative. Bede used Orosius for his account of the rebellion of Magnus Maximus,²⁷ and after drawing upon the same source for certain other events of imperial history which affected Britain, he turned to Gildas, using his entire narrative in direct quotation, in paraphrase or in abbreviation. He omitted none of the essential points, but he did make a number of small additions, most of which consisted of details connected with the building of the walls, and some of which arose from his knowledge of a third wall, where Gildas knew of only two, and of another builder, namely Severus. He describes the wall built by Severus as being, not a stone wall as some supposed, but a rampart of turves.²⁸ In describing the stone wall which was built in answer to the second appeal to the Romans, he says that it was built in the place where Severus had previously made his rampart.²⁹ With the first and last of the three walls thus identified with the *vallum*³⁰ and the Hadrianic Wall respectively, the middle one of the three, that is the turf wall built after the first appeal to the Romans, had to be equated with the only other wall of whose existence Bede was aware, namely the Antonine Wall. Bede must surely have seen both the *vallum* and the Hadrianic Wall, and although he is less likely to have seen the Antonine Wall, he would know about it because, as he says, it began at its eastern end near the monastery of Abercorn.³¹ He knew more

²⁷ HE 1, 9.

²⁸ HE 1, 5.

²⁹ HE 1, 12.

³⁰ We can hardly suppose that Bede meant the Hadrianic Turf Wall. At the most he could not have known more of this than the surviving two mile loop in the Birdoswald-Appletree sector.

³¹ HE 1, 12.

about the construction of the various walls than Gildas did, but this was the kind of information which he could get by going to look for himself or getting someone else to do so for him. The differences between Bede and Gildas on the walls are therefore no more than differences of interpretation and, Severus excepted, there is nothing to suggest that Bede knew any more about the political circumstances which led to their construction than Gildas did.

Another point on which Bede differs from Gildas is in his interpretation of the word *transmarinae*, which Gildas used of the Picts and Scots and which Bede borrowed from him. We use this word, he writes,³² not because the Picts and Scots live outside Britain, but because they are separated from that part of the country held by the Britons by two arms of the sea which cut deep into the island from east and west. On the western side lies *Urbs Alcluith*, and on the eastern side lies *Urbs Giudi*. Bede seems to have felt that it was inaccurate to use the term *transmarinae* of people who did not in fact live across the sea from the main island of Britain, and he was therefore at pains to explain that he used the word only in a limited sense. The reason for his uneasiness is simply that conditions had changed. In the times of which Gildas wrote, that is the early fifth century, *transmarina* was a fairly accurate description of one at least of the two peoples in question, namely the Scots, but it was much less applicable to the Scots of Bede's own time because some of them had by then been firmly established north of the Clyde for two centuries. Bede's gloss on *transmarina* is not so much an addition to Gildas's narrative as a modification designed to make it in keeping with the changed conditions of later times.

The unsuccessful appeal to Aetius and the disasters which followed, the recovery of the Britons and their demoralization, the plague and the invitation to the Saxons—all these are incorporated by Bede in an abbreviated form. The only important point on which Bede differs from Gildas

³² HE I, 12.

in this part of the narrative is that he identifies the *superbus tyrannus* of Gildas with Vortigern.³³ In his description of what happened after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, Bede seems to differ slightly from Gildas, but it is not easy to tell whether the difference is only one of style and language or whether it is due to the use of different sources. In response to the invitation from the Britons, Bede writes,³⁴ three shiploads of Saxons arrived, and at the king's orders they settled in the eastern part of the island, apparently for the purpose of fighting against its enemies, but actually with the intention of conquering it. So much comes from Gildas mainly in direct quotation, but Bede goes on to say that the Saxons engaged in battle against the enemies who had come from the north, and were victorious.³⁵ This is much more explicit than anything to be found in Gildas, who writes of the Saxons as having the apparent intention of fighting on behalf of the Britons, but not as having actually done so. Gildas does, however, imply that the Saxons had some success, because it was news of this success which encouraged more of their countrymen to follow them. Bede goes on to say that a larger band of armed men then came to Britain, that they too were given lands on which to settle and that an agreement was made whereby the Saxons should fight against Britain's enemies in return for wages to be paid them by the Britons.³⁶ This also is more explicit than the account given by Gildas which mentions the supplying of provisions for the newcomers, but does not explicitly mention the granting of lands. Bede may only have been rewriting the rather lurid passage in which Gildas had described these events, but his account does leave the impression that Gildas was not the only source from which it was drawn. After recounting the origin of the various races which came to

³³ HE I, 14.

³⁴ HE I, 15.

³⁵ HE I, 15—*inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem venerant, victoriam sumere Saxones.*

³⁶ HE I, 15.

Britain and of the kingdoms which they founded, Bede then describes the revolt of the Saxons, deriving the greater part of his description in direct quotation from Gildas, but adding one statement of fact which is not found in Gildas—namely that after the Saxons had fought successfully against the Picts, they suddenly formed an alliance with them and turned against the Britons.³⁷

This statement is of the greatest interest, because if it was not derived from Gildas, it seems to supply independent evidence in support of one of the most striking points in the narrative of Gildas, namely that the Saxons were first called in to help in dealing with dangers threatening in the north. It might be argued that, in referring to an alliance between Picts and Saxons, Bede has been influenced by Constantius' *Life of Germanus* which describes Picts and Saxons as having fought on the same side against the Britons in the Hallelujah battle.³⁸ Although it is true that in the order of his narrative Bede placed his account of the Hallelujah battle, which he derived from Constantius, after his account of the revolt of the Saxons which he derived from Gildas, yet he knew and stated that the Hallelujah battle had been fought some years before what he regarded as the *aduentus Saxonum* proper. Bede derived the greater part of *HE* 1, 12-16, from Gildas. He refers to the alliance between Picts and Saxons and their joint attack on the Britons in 1, 15. In 1, 16, he describes the British victory at *Mons Badonicus*, and he concludes the chapter with the words *sed haec postmodum*. He then abandons the chronological order of his narrative and inserts a digression on the rise of Pelagianism and an account of the measures taken to combat it which he derived almost entirely from Constantius. This digression which forms 1, 17-21, carries him back to the first visit of Germanus (429), and includes an account of the Hallelujah battle. He opens

³⁷ *HE* 1, 15—*tum subito inito ad tempus foedere cum Pictis, quos longius iam bellando pepulerant, in socios arma vertere incipiunt.*

³⁸ Constantius' account is used by Bede, *HE* 1, 20.

1, 17, with the words *ante paucos sane aduentus eorum annos heresis Pelagiana per Agricolam inlata etc.* *Eorum* here refers to the Saxons, and there can be very little doubt that this qualifying phrase applies to the whole insertion which forms 1, 17-21. In 1, 22, Bede returns to Gildas for his material, and resumes the narrative from the point at which it had been interrupted in 1, 16. Bede thus leaves no room for doubt of his awareness that the alliance between Picts and Saxons at the Hallelujah battle was on an occasion which befell some years before the *aduentus Saxonum*. I am therefore of the opinion that his reference to an alliance between the Saxons and the Picts on the occasion of the Saxon revolt is not derived from Constantius or influenced by him and that it may accordingly be used as independent evidence in support of the testimony of Gildas that the Saxons were first called in to deal with troubles in the north of Britain. My impression that Bede had some source of information other than Gildas about the earliest settlements of the Saxons in the north and about their initial victories over the Picts is thereby strengthened.

Bede made one other major addition to the narrative of Gildas, namely the insertion of a number of dates. He placed the building of the turf and stone walls which resulted from the first two appeals to the Romans after 407³⁹ and before 423.⁴⁰ Gildas had placed the appeal to Aetius simply during the latter's third consulship. Bede adds that Aetius was consul for the third time in the twenty-third year of the reign of Theodosius, which began in 423.⁴¹ The British recovery, the repulse of the Picts and Scots and the phase of prosperity he placed between the appeal to Aetius and the arrival of the Saxons which he assigned to some unspecified year during the joint reign of Marcian and Valentinian whose beginning he placed in 449.⁴² The result of placing the narrative of Gildas within such a frame-

³⁹ *HE* I, 11, 12.

⁴⁰ *HE* I, 13.

⁴¹ *HE* I, 13.

⁴² *HE* I, 15. Marcian was not recognized in the west until 452.

work was to give the whole story a chronological rigidity which was entirely lacking in the original and to raise in an acute form the difficulty of interpreting the letter to Aetius as an appeal for help against the Picts and Scots. We ought not, however, to allow our estimate of the value of Gildas's narrative to be unduly influenced by Bede's chronological framework. The whole structure of Bede's *History* rested upon a chronological foundation, and when he embodied extracts from such writers as Gildas and Constantius the result was bound to be a somewhat artificial union.

The *Historia Brittonum* differs very greatly from both Bede and Gildas in its account of events in Britain between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the English. It refers briefly to the rebellion of Magnus Maximus, to the attacks of the Picts and Scots and to the British appeals for help.⁴³ It then relates side by side what are really two separate stories, one concerning Hengest's invasion of Kent and the other the relations of Vortigern with Germanus. The latter has no bearing on the history of northern Britain, and there is therefore no need to discuss it. The story of Hengest's invasion of Kent⁴⁴ is of importance in two respects, first because the prominence which it gives to the Kentish settlement tends to obscure the earlier evidence of Bede and Gildas—a point which will be considered more fully below—and second because a small section of it deals directly with the north. Hengest, it is said, suggested to Vortigern, after the latter had consented to give him Kent, that he should send home for his son Octha and his nephew Ebissa, that these two should be set to fight against the Scots, and that they should be rewarded with lands in the north near the wall called *Guaul*. Octha and Ebissa arrived with forty ships, circumnavigated the lands of the Picts, ravaged the Orkneys, and finally took possession of very

⁴³ Cc. 29, 30. The references are to Mommsen's edition, *MGH Auct. Antiquiss.*, XIII, III-222.

⁴⁴ Discussed in detail by H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, 36-44.

many districts beyond the *mare Frenessicum* as far as the borders of the Picts.⁴⁵ Several paragraphs later the *Historia Brittonum* adds that after the death of Hengest, Otha left the north of Britain to settle in Kent, and from him the kings of Kent were descended.⁴⁶ At first sight this story seems to lend powerful support to the evidence of Bede and Gildas that Saxon mercenaries were employed in the north at an early date, but there are points about it which suggest that it should be used with caution. According to the *Historia Brittonum* Otha was the son and successor of Hengest and came to be regarded as the ancestor of the kings of Kent. On two points this is in direct conflict with Bede who writes—*erat autem idem Aedilberct filius Irminrici, cuius pater Octa, cuius pater Oeric cognomento Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum Oiscingas cognominare. Cuius pater Hengist*, etc.⁴⁷ Bede thus makes Otha the grandson, not the son of Hengest, and reckons the Kentish kings to have been descended from Oisc, not from Otha. Bede is supported by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which, however, changes the name of Hengest's son to Aesc.⁴⁸ So far as I am aware the name Ebissa is not recorded elsewhere, a fact which suggests that, like so many other personal names in the *Historia Brittonum*, it is a corrupt form.⁴⁹ *Mare Frenessicum* (with variants *Fresicum*, *Frisicum*) is presumably to

⁴⁵ C. 38—*invitabo filium meum cum fratri sui, bellatores enim viri sunt, ut dimicent contra Scottos, et da illis regiones, quae sunt in aquilone iuxta murum, qui vocatur Guaul. et jussit ut invitaret eos et invitavit: Otha et Ebissa cum quadraginta ciuilis. at ipsi cum navigarent circa Pictos, vastaverunt Orcades insulas et venerunt et occupaverunt regiones plurimas ultra mare Frenessicum* (variants—*Fresicum*, *Frisicum*) *usque ad confinium Pictorum.*

⁴⁶ C. 56—in illo tempore Saxones invalescebant in multitudine in Brittannia. mortuo autem Hengisto Otha filius eius transiit de sinistrali parte Britanniae ad regnum Cantorum et de ipso orti sunt reges Cantorum.

⁴⁷ HE II, 5.

⁴⁸ Text A, s.a. 455, 457, 465, 473, 488.

⁴⁹ It is possible that *Ebissa* is a corruption arising from the two names *Eoppa* and *Oesa*, father and grandfather respectively of Ida of Bernicia. The relevant part of the Bernician genealogy in the additions to the *Historia Brittonum* runs . . . *genuit Aedibrih genuit Ossa genuit Eobba genuit Ida* (c. 57). The genealogies in the *Historia Brittonum* are closely related to those found in Cott. Vesp. B vi and CCC 183 (see

be interpreted as the Frisian Sea. Jocelyn's *Life of Kentigern* refers to the Frisian Shore in a context which indicates that the shore of the Firth of Forth was meant.⁵⁰ The Durham group of MSS. of the *Historia Brittonum*, none of which is earlier than the late twelfth century, supply the gloss *qui* (quod) *inter nos Scottosque est* and thereby seem to agree with Jocelyn in identifying the Frisian Sea with the Firth of Forth.⁵¹ But whether or not this identification is correct, the name *Mare Frenessicum* is not out of keeping with the age to which the expedition of Otha and Ebissa is referred by the *Historia Brittonum*. Procopius,⁵² writing soon after the middle of the sixth century, names the *Frissones* as one of the three races inhabiting Britain, and there are linguistic grounds⁵³ which compel us to suppose that the Frisians played a substantial part in the settlement of Britain. For some centuries before the viking age much of the trade of north-western Europe seems to have been conducted by the Frisians.⁵⁴ Dorestad, their principal town, was known to the Ravenna geographer.⁵⁵ At one time the most prosperous part of Mainz is said to have belonged to them, and they are said to have been so numerous in Worms at a later date that they were charged with the duty of keeping part of the town wall in repair.⁵⁶ Bede

H. M. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 41). Cott. Vesp. B vi, reads in the reverse order—*ida eopping eoppa oesing oesa aethelberhting*. With the names in this order the formation of *ebissa* from *eoppa oesing* would be no more difficult than many of the other corruptions in the *Historia Brittonum*. It is not without interest to note that in Geoffrey of Monmouth's richly embroidered account (Bk. viii, ch. 18) of a Saxon expedition to the north, Otha's companion is called, not Ebissa, but Eosa. An early marginal gloss to the twelfth century Ushaw MS. of Geoffrey identifies *mons Damet* (*Damen* in other MSS.), the scene of one of their exploits, with Wingates, near Brinkburn (Northumberland), EHR, 58, 47-8.

⁵⁰ *Frisicum litus*—Jocelyn's *Life of Kentigern*, ch. viii, ed. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, 176. The passage is discussed by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II, 183-5.

⁵¹ Mommsen's C²D^mGL. In MSS. of this place and date *Scottos* must refer to the Scots of Scotland, not to the *Scotti* of Ireland.

⁵² *History of the Wars*, Loeb ed. vii, xx, 7.

⁵³ H. M. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

⁵⁴ E. Wadstein, *Norden och Väst-Europa i gammal tid*, 33-53.

⁵⁵ Ed. Pinder and Parthey, 228.

⁵⁶ Wadstein, *op. cit.*, 40.

refers to a Frisian merchant in London,⁵⁷ and there was a Frisian colony in York in the time of Alcuin.⁵⁸ In these conditions a part of the waters off Britain may well have come to be known as the Frisian Sea in the period between the Anglo-Saxon and Viking invasions, just as another part of the coast had previously come to be known as the Saxon shore.

The story of Oetha and Ebissa contains three indications of the locality of their alleged settlements. Hengest's original suggestion was that they should be given the districts next the wall called *Guaul*, but the settlements themselves are said to have been beyond the Frisian Sea and reaching as far as the borders of the Picts, without reference to any wall. We have seen that Jocelyn and Durham tradition of the twelfth century and later identified the Frisian Sea with the Firth of Forth. If this identification is right—and we cannot discount it entirely—there can hardly be any doubt that the author of the story believed the districts concerned to have lain on the north side of the Firth of Forth and not far from the eastern end of the Antonine Wall, but in that case the story would be self-contradictory because the settlements would not merely have reached as far as the borders of the Picts but would have been inside those borders. The southern side of the Firth of Forth would have seemed a much more likely area, but we should then have to assume that the author of the *Historia Brittonum* was writing somewhere north of the Forth.⁵⁹ It has been suggested that the Frisian Sea should be identified with the Solway,⁶⁰ but even if the circumnavigation of the Picts is to be interpreted as meaning that Oetha and Ebissa sailed south along the west coast of Scotland, which is in itself doubtful, the attack on the Orkneys

⁵⁷ *HE* iv, 20 (22). See F. M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, 56, for some numismatic evidence of trade between London and the Frisian coast.

⁵⁸ *Altfriði Vita Sancti Liudgeri*, c. 11, *MGH SS* II, 407.

⁵⁹ As F. Lot unconvincingly does, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum*, 65.

⁶⁰ O. G. S. Crawford, *Antiquity*, ix, 284.

is placed after this voyage and before the settlements which suggests that Octha and Ebissa made their way back to the North Sea before finally settling down.⁶¹ If it is accepted that the settlements lay in the east rather than in the west, the Humber seems to be the only remaining possibility.⁶² But are we bound to suppose that *ultra* refers to the standpoint of the author? Might it not be interpreted as referring to the standpoint of Octha and Ebissa, meaning only that Octha and Ebissa crossed the sea and settled beyond it? If this interpretation were allowed, the Frisian Sea would be no more than a name for the North Sea in general and the settlements would then lie somewhere towards the north of eastern Britain. Taken as a whole the story of Octha and Ebissa does not inspire confidence. It seems to be wrong about the ancestry of Octha, the name Ebissa looks like a corruption and the Frisian Sea cannot be certainly identified. But even if the story cannot be accepted in its details, it may none the less preserve a muddled tradition, independent of Bede and Gildas, that a Germanic settlement took place in the north-east of England or the south-east of Scotland at about the same time as the invasion of Kent, i.e. c. 449.

We have discussed the story of Octha and Ebissa at considerable length because it has a direct bearing on the beginnings of Northumbrian history. It is therefore the more necessary to remind ourselves that the position occupied by this story in the *Historia Brittonum*, so far from being a prominent one, is altogether subordinate to the matter relating to Hengest's invasion of Kent and to the dealings of Germanus with Vortigern. The space devoted to the invasion of Kent is seven or eight times as great as that devoted to Octha and Ebissa. In order to appreciate the consequences of this fact, we must now make a brief review of this discussion of the Gildas tradition. Gildas himself wrote

⁶¹ As J. N. L. Myres points out, *History*, NS, 20, 262, n. 1.

⁶² So Myres, *op. cit.*, 262, though I think he goes too far in describing the identification of the Frisian Sea with the Humber estuary as "virtually certain."

an account which was all but timeless, and which leaves a clear impression upon its readers that the outstanding achievement in Britain after the withdrawal of the Roman armies was the expulsion of the Picts and Scots and the establishment of British authority over a wide area of northern Britain. Gildas was, of course, in a position to look back and so to realize what a disastrous mistake from his point of view the introduction of the Saxons into Britain had been. Bede followed Gildas in his main outlines, and besides giving a clear impression of having known more about the Saxons in the north than Gildas did, he added a statement of fact about a treaty between the Saxons and the Picts at the time of the Saxon revolt which was certainly not derived from Gildas. At the same time he confined the story within a rigid chronological framework and made Vortigern responsible for the invitation to the Saxons. The *Historia Brittonum* made only the briefest of references to the Gildas tradition, and in its place added a long and detailed story about the invasion of Kent which contained a short digression on the adventures of Oetha and Eblssa in the north. In this way the *Historia Brittonum* exaggerated the importance of what was, from the strictly contemporary point of view, merely a local affair and thereby seriously distorted the picture drawn by Gildas. Chance has preserved a detailed tradition about what was happening in Kent, but it is no more than chance which has failed to preserve similar traditions about what was happening in other parts of the country. This process of distortion was carried a stage further by the Parker text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which omitted all reference to events in the north of Britain and confined itself to brief entries relating to the progress of the invasions in the south. It is natural enough that events which are well to the fore in the scene depicted by Gildas the Briton should recede with the passage of time and finally disappear altogether from the works of English writers, but the change is one of emphasis alone and must not be allowed to impugn the

veracity of Gildas. Even at the risk of seeming to labour the point, it must be urged that the danger of gaining a distorted impression of these times is one that must be kept constantly in mind. The sum of all the available literary evidence for this period of cataclysmic change is small in the extreme, and even if it tells a part of the truth, it certainly does not tell more than a small fraction of the whole. To dismiss the story of the Kentish war as romance or to transplant Hengest to some other part of the country⁶³ is to forget that the fame of Hengest is accidental, to forget that the independent Ravenna geographer calls the leader of the Saxons not Hengest but Ansehîs and to forget also that one more tradition might have given us yet a third name.

2. *The Veracity of Gildas.*

We have so far considered the accounts of those early writers who set out to compose a narrative which would cover the whole period from the last days of Roman Britain to the beginnings of English Northumbria. We are now in a position to discuss evidence which is independent of the Gildas tradition and which may be expected in part to serve as a check upon the veracity of Gildas and in part to throw light upon some of the episodes at which the Gildas tradition seems to hint. In order to find firm ground as a starting-point we must go back to the great disaster which overwhelmed Roman Britain in 367. Ammianus⁶⁴ names three peoples as playing an important part in the events of this year—the Picts, who are said to have been divided into two tribes called the *Dicalydonae* and the *Verturiones*, the Scots and the *Attacotti*. The Picts and Scots began to operate jointly against the defences of Roman Britain in the first half of the fourth century, and from then until the

⁶³ As would E. G. M. Fletcher, *Antiquity*, xvii, 91-3.

⁶⁴ xxvii, 8. Conveniently cited by R. W. Moore, *The Romans in Britain*, 94.

withdrawal of the Roman armies the military history of the province is very largely the record of their attacks and of the measures taken against them by successive Roman commanders. The events of 367, the fourth century rebuilding of the fort at Carnarvon and the construction of signal stations along the north-east coast—to note only a few details—are plain evidence that the Picts and Scots, either by themselves or with the help of allies, were not only able to carry a strong frontier by direct assault, but could also penetrate a very long way to its rear. It is difficult to believe that they could have achieved such things without being in control, and perhaps even in occupation, of a part of the country on the north side of the Tyne-Solway line. The third of these peoples, the *Attacotti*, are obscure. Ammianus describes them as a warlike people, and according to the *Notitia Dignitatum*⁶⁵ some of them served in the Roman armies in various parts of the western empire. There is no reference to any British tribes having taken part in the attack on the Wall from the north, unless the Attacotti were themselves of British origin. The political boundaries of these parts cannot again be drawn with any approach to certainty before the second half of the seventh century, and the situation which they then disclose is fundamentally changed. Abercorn was in English hands and Dumbarton was the capital of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. With the possible exception of a small area near the eastern end of the Antonine Wall, there is no good evidence for the presence of either Picts or Scots south of the Forth-Clyde line, the Attacotti have disappeared, and virtually the whole area between the two Walls is found to be divided between British and English peoples.

There are two ways in which it might be held possible to account for this revolutionary change in the political geography of northern Britain. The first which raises the very difficult question of the identity of the peoples living between the two Walls in the fourth century, is to suppose

⁶⁵ Cited by R. W. Moore, *op. cit.*, 194.

that Ammianus was mistaken in implying that the Britons took no major part in the operations of 367, and that many of those whom he calls Picts were in fact Britons. But even if this was the case (and we may note in passing that Bede was never in any doubt about the separate identities of the Britons and the Picts), it would not account entirely for the virtual disappearance of the Picts and Scots from the area south of the Antonine Wall or for the complete superiority which the Britons were able to establish in this area before the expansion of Northumbria towards the end of the sixth century. The second way, which does not necessarily exclude the first, is to suppose that at some period between 367 and *c.* 550 there was a phase of vigorous warfare which placed the Britons in complete control of the whole of Scotland as far north as the Forth-Clyde line. It cannot be supposed for one moment that the expulsion of the Picts and Scots was the work of the Northumbrian invaders of the sixth century. Northumbria was formed out of territory won by the English from the Britons, not from the Picts and Scots. If the English are excluded, there remain only the Roman army and the Britons, and therefore, even if the literary sources had contained no hint of any such northern success, we should have been compelled to postulate something of the kind in order to account for the facts as we find them in 367 and again some two centuries later. The testimony of Gildas on the fact of recovery, at least in the north, is therefore not to be doubted, but we may, indeed must, ask whether, in placing the recovery after the withdrawal of the Romans, he has placed it at the right time. The British domination of southern Scotland at the time of the foundation of Bernicia in 547 is not in dispute. The problem which concerns us now is how and when that domination was achieved. What sequence of events enabled the British so to recover from the disasters of 367 that they could not only overcome their old enemies, but could also offer a prolonged and vigorous opposition to the English invaders some two centuries later? In his description of the

island of Britain Bede thought fit to refer to *Alcluith*, i.e. Dumbarton, which he describes as *ciuitas Brittonum munitissima usque hodie*.⁶⁶ What were the circumstances which justified a reference to Dumbarton in such a way as to imply that it was one of the most powerful strongholds of Britain long before Bede's time, and what circumstances justified a not dissimilar reference to *urbs Giudi*, at the eastern end of the Antonine Wall?⁶⁷ There is not at present enough evidence to give complete answers to all these questions, but there is at least enough to justify an attempt to give partial answers.

Gildas leaves no room for doubt that the British civilization about which he wrote was Christian, and that is why it has left so few material remains. The amount of archaeological evidence which can at present be brought to bear on these problems consists only of a small group of tombstones which seem, on considerations of style and language, to belong to this period. The entire group consists only of eleven stones of which five are connected with ecclesiastical establishments at Whithorn and Kirkcubright.⁶⁸ Of the remaining six stones, one, from Manor Water and now in the Peebles museum, seems to mark the grave of an Irishwoman,⁶⁹ and another, which comes from Overkirkhope in Ettrick, is of little value for present purposes.⁷⁰ The remaining four, which come respectively from Northumberland, Liddesdale, Selkirk and Midlothian, are apparently the tombstones of civilians. The Northumberland stone, which was found near the Roman fort at Chesterholm, was erected to the memory of Brigomaglos.⁷¹ Since the stone was not in its original position when it was first noticed, it is not known whether it marked an isolated grave or whether it formed part of a cemetery. The same is true

⁶⁶ *HE* I, 1.

⁶⁷ *HE* I, 12.

⁶⁸ For the latest account of these five stones see R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Celticarum Insularum*, I, 493-501.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 486-8.

⁷⁰ J. Romilly Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, pt. 3, 432, fig. 451.

⁷¹ Macalister, *op. cit.*, 475-6.

of the Liddesdale stone to the memory of Carantus the son of Cupitianus, which was found in the bed of Liddel Water.⁷² The Midlothian stone, commonly known as the Cat Stane, stands in the parish of Kirkliston, close to the south bank of the Almond and between six and seven miles from Edinburgh.⁷³ The inscription it bears records that it marks the burial place of Vetta, the son of Victus or Victrix. Edward Lhwyd, describing this monument in about 1700, said that it covered an area of some seven yards in diameter, that it was raised somewhat above the level of the surrounding ground and was encompassed by large stones laid lengthwise. When the area was excavated in 1865 it was found that the monument formed part of a cemetery which was enclosed by a roughly built stone wall, within whose limits no less than fifty stone-lined graves were found. All the graves lay with heads to the west, and no relics of any kind were found with the burials. There can hardly be any doubt that this was a Christian cemetery of the British heroic age, although in the absence of relics it cannot be more precisely dated. The last and most interesting stone of the series comes from the parish of Yarrow in the county of Selkirk.⁷⁴ A recent study of this stone by Professor Macalister has shown that the long and in parts obscure inscription which it bears was carved in two stages, and that it represents the epitaphs of two princes who are described as the sons of *Liberalis*. The names of these two princes are read by Professor Macalister as *Nudogenos* and *Dubnogenos*. It was formerly thought that the name *Nodus* or *Nudus* was to be read as the father of the people commemorated in this inscription, and since *liberalis* is the Latin equivalent of the Welsh *hael* it was suggested that this person might be identified with Nudd Hael,⁷⁵ a member

⁷² *Ibid.*, 491.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 486, and the references there cited. See also *Antiquity*, XIX, 208, where O. G. S. Crawford disputes Macalister's reading.

⁷⁴ Macalister, *op. cit.*, 491-3.

⁷⁵ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I, 143, and the references there cited.

of the Strathclyde family, who is presumed to have lived in the latter part of the sixth century, but if Professor Macalister's reading is followed, this identification must be abandoned. The epithet *hael* was used as a kind of surname by more than one member of the Strathclyde family, but neither *Nudogenos* nor *Dubnogenos* occurs in any of the surviving Welsh genealogies which relate to families located in northern Britain. Excavation in the neighbourhood of this stone at about the middle of the nineteenth century suggests that it marked the site of another British Christian cemetery.⁷⁶ None of the persons named in this small group of inscriptions has yet been identified, and therefore their evidence, though valuable in other respects, is of no help chronologically.

One of the characteristics of this age, remarked Gildas, was fertility in tyrants (by whom he doubtless meant those who followed the example of Magnus Maximus and rebelled against the lawful authority, namely Rome). But the final withdrawal of the means whereby that authority was asserted, would leave the way open for anyone who was strong enough to assert his own authority in its place. The Welsh genealogies, reflecting the process by which the new political system emerged, record the names of a considerable number of kings who were believed to have ruled at various times in the fifth and following centuries. These genealogies can be checked at a sufficient number of points to suggest that they are reliable at least as far back as the beginning of the sixth century,⁷⁷ but although they contain names in abundance, it is not easy to attach many of them to particular geographical areas. A glance at the genealogies of that group of kings who were known collectively as the *Men of the North* will show that all of the thirteen separate genealogies go back to one of two

⁷⁶ PSAS II, 484-9. There are other cemeteries which may belong to this period, but direct evidence of their date is lacking, see *Arch. Ael.* 4 S., xxiii, map facing p. 94.

⁷⁷ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, I, 151-2.

ancestors, Ceredig Gwledig or Coel Hen.⁷⁸ It is certain that the descendants of Ceredig Gwledig were the rulers of the kingdom of Strathclyde and that they had their capital on the rock of Dumbarton near the western end of the Antonine Wall. In the time of Columba the representative of this line was Rodericus, son of Tothail,⁷⁹ otherwise known as Rhydderch Hael, who appears in the genealogies in the fifth generation from Ceredig.⁸⁰ If Rhydderch was reigning in the second half of the sixth century, it follows that Ceredig will have been reigning in the first half of the fifth century. Patrick's famous *Letter* was addressed to a certain Coroticus who, on the evidence of Muirchu's *Life of St. Patrick*, can be located at Dumbarton.⁸¹ From the fact that Coroticus and Ceredig flourished at the same time, and from the further fact that a descendant of Ceredig's was undoubtedly ruling at Dumbarton in the sixth century, it has been inferred that Ceredig and Coroticus were one and the same person. If this inference is correct, it follows that Ceredig's family was already established at Dumbarton by c. 450, and we must therefore look more closely at Patrick's letter in order to see what kind of a kingdom he ruled over.

The occasion of the letter—which was not addressed to Coroticus himself, but to his soldiers—was a marauding expedition which these soldiers had undertaken to Ireland, and in the course of which they had killed or captured a number of Christians who had recently been baptized by Patrick himself.⁸² Patrick does not address the soldiers explicitly as Christians, but he leaves no room for doubt that they came from what was nominally a Christian country, because it was the very fact that the raid had been

⁷⁸ See the table compiled by Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 168-9.

⁷⁹ Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, ed. W. Reeves, bk. I, ch. viii, pp.

123-4.

⁸⁰ *Y Cymmrodor*, IX, 172-3, also A. W. Wade-Evans, *Nennius's History of the Britons*, 104-5.

⁸¹ In the heading to Muirchu's *Life of St. Patrick*, Coroticus is called *Coirthech regem Aloo*. For Patrick's *Letter* see N. J. D. White, *Libri Sancti Patricii*, P.R.I.A., xxv, section c, 201-326, 542-52. The references are to this edition.

⁸² §§ 2, 3.

made by men who were supposed to be Christians which made his position among the heathen and newly baptized in Ireland so difficult. He knew that the fate of the captives was to be sold on foreign slave markets. He denounced the soldiers as men with whom no Christian should take food or drink, and as men from whom none should accept alms, and he urged that the letter should be read as widely as possible, even in the presence of Coroticus himself. A letter of this kind presupposes the existence of an organized Christian community which would receive it and make its contents known, for Patrick particularly asked that it should be read *coram cunctis plebibus*,⁸³ and how did he expect this to be done unless by preachers? For what purposes would alms be given by soldiers unless for the maintenance of the church? The abrupt way in which Patrick turns from rebuking the soldiers to quote the example of the Christian Gauls whose custom it was to redeem Christians who had been sold into slavery,⁸⁴ leads one to infer that expeditions for the purpose of taking prisoners who could then be sold in foreign markets were of common occurrence in Patrick's time. The activities of Coroticus as a slave trader suggest one source of income which would enable him to support an army. The existence of that army calls to mind the curious remark of Gildas that the Romans left behind them patterns for the making of weapons before their final departure. As a literal statement of fact it is interesting, but one would hardly have expected a simple action of this kind to have passed into current tradition unless something more important lay behind it, for example instruction, not so much in the processes of manufacture, as in the uses of the weapons themselves. The inescapable fact remains that the Britons, with or without Roman help, were able to gain a notable success over two of the most formidable enemies that Roman Britain had ever faced, an achievement which implies either the formation of British

⁸³ § 27.⁸⁴ § 14.

military organizations under skilled leadership or the weakening of the Picts and Scots by internal troubles. However that may be, it is clear from Patrick's *Letter* that the kingdom over which Ceredig ruled was far from being newly established at the time when that *Letter* was written, i.e. c. 450, and that the undertaking which led to its formation had been carried through at some appreciably earlier date.

This line of argument has led us to infer that at least on the western side of northern Britain some kind of political stability had been achieved by c. 425, and that the British frontier towards the north then rested on the line of the old Antonine Wall. If this was the case we can the more readily understand the success which attended the missionary and educational activities of Ninian's foundation at Whithorn. It is scarcely to be believed that such work could have been carried out if the conditions of 367 had still been prevalent in the earlier part of the fifth century. Is there any evidence to suggest that the period of the British recovery should be carried still further back, that is into the fourth century? Professor Chadwick drew my attention to a point of considerable interest in the genealogy of Ceredig. The name of Ceredig's father was Cynloyp, which is obscure, but his grandfather and great-grandfather were called respectively Cinhil and Cluim,⁸⁵ which are evidently the purely Roman names Quintilius and Clemens. If Ceredig flourished c. 450, his great-grandfather will have flourished c. 360, and we are immediately led to wonder under what circumstances a powerful native dynasty established at the western end of the Antonine Wall came to claim descent from apparently Romano-British ancestry. At this point we may leave the problem of Dumbarton for a moment in order to consider the situation at the other end of the Antonine Wall.

The counterpart of Dumbarton in the east was *urbs Giudi*. Referring to the two firths, Bede writes—*orientalis*

⁸⁵ *Y Cymm.*, IX, 173, also Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 104-5.

*habet in medio sui urbem Giudi, occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad dexteram sui, habet urbem Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat petram Cluith.*⁸⁶ Bede has commonly been interpreted as meaning that *urbs Giudi* lay on an island in the Firth of Forth, and the place has therefore been identified with Inchkeith, but, whatever *urbs* may mean in this context, it is scarcely conceivable that a site for such a "city" would have been chosen on an island which lay some four miles offshore in the middle of a tidal estuary. We know of only one use to which the islands off Britain were regularly put during this period, and that was to serve as ecclesiastical sanctuaries. If it has to be supposed that *urbs Giudi* was an island stronghold, Cramond Island would have been a more suitable site. I am not, however, convinced that this is the right interpretation of Bede. It seems more likely that in the passage quoted above Bede was contrasting the position of Alcluith which lay at the head of the Firth of Clyde, with the position of Giudi which lay, not out in the middle of the Forth, but half way along it. If this is the correct interpretation, the site of *urbs Giudi* should be sought in some suitable position, such as Cramond itself or perhaps Inveresk, on the southern shore of the Forth. So far as I know there is no direct evidence for associating *urbs Giudi* with the kingdom of Manau over which Cunedda ruled. This latter, however, seems to have been the counterpart at the eastern end of the Antonine Wall of Ceredig's kingdom at the western end. Cunedda himself and a large part of the Votadini over whom he ruled migrated to north-west Wales, where he founded the kingdom of Gwynedd, whose ruler in the time of Gildas was Maelgwn. There will be more to say later about the date and purpose of this migration, but for the moment we are concerned with trying to establish the date at which the kingdom of Manau first came into being.

According to the Harleian genealogies Cunedda's father†

⁸⁶ HE I, 12.

was called *Aetern*, his grandfather *Patern Pesrut* and his great-grandfather *Tacil*.⁸⁷ It has long been recognized that these are Roman names and that the epithet *Pesrut* seems to imply that the man to whom it was given was invested with some kind of Roman authority. The suggestion has been made that the phase of stability which is implied by the establishment of this eastern kingdom and its western counterpart should be equated with the political settlement of Constans in 343,⁸⁸ but it is difficult to see how the two kingdoms could have survived intact the great upheaval of 367, unless indeed we are to suppose that the area south of the Antonine Wall was not greatly affected. Moreover, this equation depends on the assumption that Cunedda flourished c. 400. Here I must anticipate conclusions by saying that I suspect the generally accepted dating of Cunedda's migration to be erroneous, and that he and Ceredig were approximately contemporary, both flourishing about the middle of the fifth century.

The genealogies show that both Ceredig and Cunedda were believed to be descended from men who bore Roman names. In both cases the Roman nomenclature can be traced as far back as their great-grandfathers, but beyond that it disappears. If Ceredig and Cunedda flourished about the middle of the fifth century, a point which is not in dispute for Ceredig, their great-grandfathers will have flourished somewhat after the middle of the fourth century, that is to say in and after the great troubles of 367. This coincidence suggests a train of thought which has far-reaching consequences, and it will therefore be well to consider how far genealogical material which is not preserved in any manuscript earlier than the twelfth century can legitimately be used to interpret fourth-century history. Genealogies are a characteristic feature of the early literatures of many peoples, and the development of this form of historical record is particularly well-marked among the

⁸⁷ *Y Cymm.*, ix, 170, also Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 101.

⁸⁸ *Northumberland County History*, xv, 113-14.

Teutonic, Scandinavian and Celtic peoples.⁸⁹ It has long been established that the alliterative genealogy, preserved orally and sometimes in the form of verse,⁹⁰ was a means whereby accurate information could be handed down over a number of generations which might well cover a period of several centuries before the genealogies themselves were first committed to writing. A case in point is the genealogy of the Mercian royal family. This is not now preserved in any manuscript earlier than the ninth century, but there is good evidence for thinking that the names Offa and Wermund which represent the eighth and ninth generations before Penda, are those of historical persons who flourished on the other side of the North Sea in the second half of the fourth century.⁹¹ In this case the genealogy was accurately preserved in spite of the migration overseas of the family concerned. An even longer span is covered by the genealogies of the high kings of Ireland which, in the opinion of Professor and Mrs. Chadwick, "are more or less trustworthy as far back as the third century, if not further."⁹² On the other hand, it cannot be denied that at certain periods influences have been at work which tended to corrupt certain genealogies by the addition of spurious elements. A good example is provided again by the West-Saxon genealogy which was corrupted by the addition of both Germanic and Hebrew names with the twofold object of glorifying the family and lending a Christian colour to its descent.⁹³

The most important collection of Welsh genealogies is contained in MS. Harleian 3859, which seems to have been written at about the beginning of the twelfth century, but there is good reason to think that the text of the genealogies, as also of the *Annales Cambriae* in the same manuscript,

⁸⁹ For a discussion of the subject see H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, I, 270-6, to which I am much indebted.

⁹⁰ As in the case of part of the West-Saxon genealogy in the preface to the Parker Chronicle.

⁹¹ The evidence is discussed in detail by H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, 110-36.

⁹² *op. cit.*, I, 273.

⁹³ R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf, An Introduction*, 72-4.

was written *c.* 955, and that even in this form it was not an original work, but was based upon earlier materials.⁹⁴ In the case of the Welsh there was less contact with primitive heathenism and therefore less motive for the introduction of spurious Christian elements, but the other principal motive for genealogical corruption still remained. Since it seems to have been thought that the best way of glorifying a British family was to provide it with a distinguished Roman ancestry, the genealogies of Ceredig and Cunedda might be regarded with suspicion on the very ground that they do contain Roman names. But I doubt if this suspicion would be justified without considering the kind of Roman names they contain. Genealogies which have been corrupted for the purpose of glorifying the family in question do not seem to be difficult to detect. Examples are provided by the families whose descent is traced from Maxim Guletic, i.e. Magnus Maximus, and in one instance through Magnus Maximus back to Helena and Constantine.⁹⁵ Another example is a case in which a long list of Roman emperors has been used as a genealogy.⁹⁶ The houses of Dumbarton and Manau (later Gwynedd) were among the most famous of all British dynasties. If pedigree makers had been at work, it would have been surprising to find them using such names as Quintilius, Clemens, Aeternus, Paternus and Tacitus when they had available the whole range of Roman emperors from Magnus Maximus back to Augustus himself. We have seen already that the Dumbarton pedigree can be checked by independent sources at points in the fifth and sixth centuries. Maelgwn, who was Cunedda's great-grandson, was given an unenviable prominence by Gildas, and the episode of Cunedda's migration which was so profoundly important for north-west Wales, was another

⁹⁴ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 149-50. The best edition is by E. Phillimore, *Y Cymm.*, ix, 141-83.

⁹⁵ Harl. Gen., no. II, *Y Cymm.*, ix, 171, also Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 103.

⁹⁶ Harl. Gen., no. xvi, *Y Cymm.*, ix, 175-7, also Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 107-8.

circumstance which makes it likely that the descent of this family would be accurately known. I would not suggest that a case can be proved on the unsupported testimony of the genealogies, but I believe that this testimony may be profitably used as a guide when none better is available.

Dr. I. A. Richmond⁹⁷ has elsewhere advanced the view that the kingdoms of Strathclyde and Manau may have been Roman foundations representing a deliberate policy of creating buffer states which would serve as zones of influence beyond the frontier proper. The genealogies seem to support this interpretation, but I feel doubtful whether he is right in associating them with the political settlement of Constans in 343. It is unfortunate that there seems to be no method of establishing the dates of Ceredig and Cunedda more precisely. For Ceredig's dates we are dependent on Patrick's *Letter* which was written between 432 and 461, with a check supplied by reckoning backwards from the dates of his successors. The evidence for Cunedda's dates comes from two conflicting sources, one of them being a statement in the *Historia Brittonum* concerning the time of his migration to Wales, and the other being the fact that he was the great-grandfather of Maelgwn whose death is recorded in 548.⁹⁸ It would be foolish to maintain that by reckoning backwards at thirty years to a generation from a starting-point which is itself so insecurely established, we can determine accurately the period when the great-grandfathers of these two men lived. There cannot even be any very real confidence that such a calculation would be accurate enough to distinguish between the time of Constans and the time of Theodosius. None the less, unsatisfactory though the evidence is, it seems to point rather to the

⁹⁷ *loc. cit.*, n. 88 above.

⁹⁸ The passage from the *Hist. Britt.* is discussed further below, p. 34. In the *Ann. Camb.*, where the death of Maelgwn is recorded, dating by the Christian era is not used. The passage of years is marked simply by an abbreviation for *annus*. In correlating these years with the years of the incarnation the editor in the Rolls edition and Phillimore in *Y. Cymm.* ed. seem to be one year too early. Cf. the dates adopted by H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, i, 148-9.

Theodosian period, partly on chronological grounds and partly because of the difficulty of understanding how the Picts and Scots could have overrun the Hadrianic frontier, as well as most of the province to its rear, without also destroying the states of Manau and Strathclyde, the very purpose of whose establishment was presumably to prevent just such an invasion. The invasion of 367 was the last major undertaking in which the Picts and Scots operated jointly against the British, and so far as we can see the British thereafter remained securely in possession of the whole country between the two Walls until it was conquered from them by the Northumbrians some two and a half centuries later. If we are right in assigning the foundation of Strathclyde and Manau to Theodosius, it would seem that the method adopted to overcome the menace of the Picts and Scots was to carry the war boldly into the enemies' territory and to secure the country thus regained, not by occupying a continuous frontier as in the days of Antoninus Pius, but by setting up two states under Roman direction at each end of the old frontier. To judge from later history this move was completely successful. Was it the introduction to that period which Gildas describes as bringing with it an age so prosperous that none who came after could remember such wealth? And what of the words used by Ammianus about the restoration achieved by Theodosius . . . *recuperatamque provinciam, quae in dicionem concesserat hostium, ita red-diderat statui pristino, ut eodem referente et rectorem haberet legitimum, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis, velut orantis?*⁹⁹ Could there have been any better ground for the celebration of a triumph than the defeat of these old enemies of Roman Britain? It would perhaps be unwise to question the emphatic verdict of such an eminent scholar as R. G. Collingwood,¹⁰⁰ but it is

⁹⁹ XXVIII, 3.

¹⁰⁰ R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 286.

scarcely possible to avoid remarking how strangely apposite are the words of Ammianus to the situation we have been discussing.

Until fresh evidence can be brought to bear, the Roman origin of Strathclyde and Manau must remain largely conjectural. What is certain, however, is that before the middle of the fifth century the two states had turned into powerful British kingdoms. They had, if the expression may be allowed, "gone native." Despite the encroachments of Northumbria and the capture, once by the English¹⁰¹ and once by the Vikings,¹⁰² of Dumbarton itself, the kingdom of Strathclyde remained one of the most important factors in the politics of northern Britain for another five hundred years. The history of Manau, at least under that name, was shorter, owing to a circumstance to which we have already referred, namely the migration of Cunedda, accompanied as it would seem by many of his people, to north-west Wales. There are two sources of evidence which may be used to determine the date of this migration. The first is a famous passage in the *Historia Brittonum*,¹⁰³ which explains how Maelgwn came to rule in Gwynedd by saying that it was because his great-grandfather (*atavus*) Cunedda had come there from the district of Manau Guotodin with eight of his sons 146 years before Maelgwn's reign and had expelled the Scots after inflicting a severe defeat on them. According to the *Annales Cambriae* Maelgwn died in 548. The date of his accession is not known, but since Gildas recognized his pre-eminent position among contemporary British rulers, we may not be far wrong in placing it *c.* 530, and this will place Cunedda's migration *c.* 384. By supposing either that the period of 146 years was meant to be calculated, not from the beginning, but from the end of Maelgwn's reign, a construction which the passage will not readily bear, or that Maelgwn's reign did not begin till *c.* 540, which would make it much shorter than

¹⁰¹ In 756, Symeon of Durham, *Rolls ed.*, II, 40.

¹⁰² In 870, *Annals of Ulster*, *s.a.* 869.

¹⁰³ C. 62.

the words of Gildas seem to suggest, the migration can be made to fall into place as one of the measures taken by Stilicho between 395 and 399 to strengthen a severely threatened frontier district.

The other source of evidence is the fact which is well-established in the genealogies, that Cunedda was Maelgwn's great-grandfather. If, for the sake of achieving round figures, we assume that Maelgwn was fifty-eight when he died, his birth will fall in 490 and the birth of his great-grandfather *c.* 400. Allow an additional ten years to Maelgwn and Cunedda's birth will fall *c.* 390. Thus the genealogies point to 390 or a little later for the date of Cunedda's birth. The *Historia Brittonum* points to 390 or a little earlier for the date of his migration. There is therefore a sharp conflict of evidence and the gap is too wide to be spanned by any normal allowance for error which the system of reckoning by thirty years to a generation requires to be made. The conflict becomes all the sharper when we recall that Cunedda was accompanied by eight of his nine sons and is therefore unlikely to have been a man of less than fifty at the time.

We have therefore to decide whether the genealogy or the figure given by the *Historia Brittonum* is likely to provide the more reliable evidence. It is a commonplace that figures very easily become corrupt in the copying of MSS. On the other hand, it is not unknown for a generation to drop out of a genealogy in the same process. To suppose that this has happened at some point between Cunedda and Maelgwn would be a convenient method of reconciling the conflict of evidence—convenient, but in this case inadmissible. In these four generations from Cunedda to Maelgwn we are not dealing with men who are mere names, men known only from the genealogy in which they occur. We know the names not only of the eight sons who went with Cunedda, several of which were long preserved in the names of the places over which they ruled,¹⁰⁴ but also of the other

¹⁰⁴ Sir John Lloyd, *op. cit.*, I, 117-18.

son, Typiaun, who was the first-born and who remained behind in Manau Guotodin, where he died.¹⁰⁵ One of these eight sons, Enniaun Girt, was the father of Cadwallon the Longhanded, celebrated in the Triads as leader of one of the Three Fettered Warbands of the Isle of Britain.¹⁰⁶ Cadwallon the Longhanded was father of Maelgwn. The four generations are therefore covered with each supported by other evidence in such a way as to make the possibility of a lost generation extremely remote.

There is, however, another argument to be taken into account. The Romans were still in control of North Wales in 380,¹⁰⁷ and the date supplied by the *Historia Brittonum* asks us to believe that within four or five years the Scots had invaded North Wales and become a sufficiently formidable threat to the security of the country to require the organization of a major campaign to evict them. This is scarcely credible. It seems unlikely that the settlements would even begin until some years after the area affected had passed out of Roman control, presumably by the withdrawal of the garrisons in 383. Welsh tradition which preserved a clear memory of the "Irishmen's huts,"¹⁰⁸ and which, moreover, ascribed the final expulsion of the Scots not to Cunedda himself, not even to his sons, but to his grandson, Cadwallon the Longhanded,¹⁰⁹ is evidence that the Scottish occupation was not something which lasted only half a dozen years. On these various grounds we can scarcely escape the conclusion that the figure given by the *Historia Brittonum*, 146 years before the reign of Maelgwn, is corrupt, that Cunedda belongs to the first half of the fifth century, and that the migration of the Votadini took place towards the middle of that century.

The migration of the Votadini seems to have been completely successful in its object of expelling the Scots from

¹⁰⁵ *Y Cymm.*, ix, 182, also Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, 113-14.

¹⁰⁶ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, i, 120.

¹⁰⁷ *Y Cymm.*, xxxiii, 89-93.

¹⁰⁸ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, i, 111-12.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

north-west Wales, but the price which would have to be paid for such success would be to upset the equilibrium established in the north by the Theodosian settlement. We have no means now of estimating the relative strength of the Pictish threat from across the Forth and the Scottish threat in northern Wales, and we can only suppose that the danger of a deep penetration into British territory from the west seemed real enough to justify a move which must have led to a considerable weakening of the northern defences. To have left the eastern end of the old Antonine line completely undefended would have been to invite disaster, and that, no doubt, was why Typiaun, Cunedda's eldest son, was left behind in Manau. The fact that it was Cunedda's eldest son who remained in Manau suggests with some force that Cunedda was aware of the dangers inherent in the move to Wales, and that he thought it necessary to make provision against them. Gildas, it will be recalled, states that after the period of prosperity the threat of invasion was renewed, and that in order to meet this threat the Saxons were called in. Gildas implies, and Bede explicitly states, that the Saxons were at first successful and that the Picts were driven back to the north. Now the arrival of the Saxons and the migration of the Votadini seem to have coincided approximately in point of time, and we may perhaps conjecture that the two events were not unconnected with one another, in other words, that the renewed threat of invasion from the north was due to the weakening of the northern defences which resulted from the migration of the Votadini. The claim that Saxon *foederati* were established somewhere in the north before the middle of the fifth century, and that they fought successfully in the service of the British is a strong one, even when it takes into account only the literary evidence.

The archæological evidence is at present difficult to interpret. It has accumulated piecemeal during the last hundred years in the course of excavations which were conducted by people who were either not qualified to perform such work

or who had no proper understanding of the problems involved. Much of the material has been lost completely, and there is no published *corpus* of what has survived. In all too many instances, even where the material has survived, there are no detailed accounts of the circumstances in which it was found. In these very unsatisfactory conditions the evidence should perhaps be used rather as a guide in formulating the problems to which further study of the existing remains and the properly conducted excavation of fresh sites may be expected to provide the answers, than as something from which positive deductions can at present be made. The evidence in question is virtually confined to one or other of two areas, the Yorkshire Wolds and the immediate surroundings of York itself.¹¹⁰ There seems to be general agreement among those who are best qualified to give an opinion that in both of these areas there is some material which cannot easily be dated later than the fifth century. For the Wolds it will suffice now to refer to cremation urns from*Sancton¹¹¹ and Broughton by Mal-

¹¹⁰ Relics of the pagan Saxon period have been discovered at several sites in other parts of Northumbria, but in the aggregate they are too slight to be of much positive value.

¹¹¹ The cremation cemetery lay on high ground about half a mile north-east of Sancton church. Eight urns, discovered shortly before 1875 and presented to the Ashmolean, are illustrated *Arch.*, xlv, pl. xxxiii, p. 409, reproduced in *Trans. E. Riding Ant. Soc.*, xvi, pl. iii, opp. p. 50. A detailed account derived from M. Forster, quoted by W. Smith, *Old Yorkshire*, 1882, III, 12-13, refers to the discovery of a large number of urns, some whole, some fragmentary, and estimates the cemetery to have covered an area 150 yards by 50 yards. According to M. Forster this site was distinct from a mixed inhumation-cremation cemetery somewhat nearer the village. Two more cremation urns discovered in 1892 and 1894, are illustrated in *Trans. E. Riding Ant. Soc.*, v, 116-17, figs. 1 and 2. T. Shepherd, *ibid.*, xiv, 63, states that the cremations were laid in rows (as at Heworth, see further below). Another twenty urns, now in the Hull Museum, are described and illustrated by T. Shepherd, *ibid.*, xvi, 52-66, pls. iv-xiii. The distinction between the two separate cemeteries noted by M. Forster is also noted by Baldwin-Brown, *Arts in Early England*, iv, 803, but not by the Elgees, *Archæology of Yorkshire*, 179. *VCH*, York, II, 75-7, notes finds from three separate sites near Sancton. The situation is extremely confused, but it is clear that the finds from Sancton cover a long period, and that much of the material belongs to the sixth century. I am much indebted to my wife and to the late Miss M. Moulden for undertaking research into the earliest records relating to this and other pagan Saxon sites in east

ton¹¹² and to the dwelling site at Elmswell,¹¹³ near Driffield, where the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods of occupation have been found to merge into one another without any perceptible break. Whether there are any more sites on the Wolds which should be assigned to the fifth century is a matter which must await the proper publication of the whole body of material.

The York area has yielded cremation burials from two, or possibly three, sites within a mile of York Minster, that is to say within a mile from the centre of the legionary fortress. The most important of these is the cemetery at Heworth, which was discovered in the spring of 1878, during the work on the construction of the Foss Islands railway. The fact of its discovery was briefly recorded in contemporary publications.¹¹⁴ It was not till 1891 that a few more details were published, and it was then stated that forty-two urns had been recovered, but that "a large number" had been destroyed before any notice of their discovery reached the Museum at York.¹¹⁵ The contents of the urns are stated to have been burnt bones, a pair of bronze tweezers, some glass beads fused by heat, and some buttons. There is no reference to any other objects being found with the urns, which are said to have lain in rows about two feet apart. Some of the urns show marked similarities on the one hand to urns from continental cemeteries¹¹⁶

Yorkshire. Their work has shown that behind the apparent tidiness of the standard modern works there is a state of serious confusion. A gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon remains in E. Yorks. on the lines of M. Kitson Clark's gazetteer of the Roman period (*Roman Malton and District Report no. 5*), would be invaluable.

¹¹² Now in the York Museum, *Archæologia*, xxxvii, 472: Baldwin-Brown, *op. cit.*, iv, 391: *VCH*, York, II, 100. This site is of particular interest because of its proximity to the Roman fort at Malton.

¹¹³ A. L. Congreve, *A Roman and Saxon Site at Elmswell, East Yorks.*, Hull Museum Publications Nos. 193, 198. Also P. Corder, *Excavations at Elmswell, East Yorks.*, H.M.P. No. 207.

¹¹⁴ *Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Phil. Soc. for 1878*, 8-9. The cemetery was found during the making of a cutting for the railway, *Yorkshire Gazette*, 20 April 1878.

¹¹⁵ *York Museum Handbook*, 1891, 216.

¹¹⁶ R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1935, I, pl. 29, opp. p. 159.

and on the other to urns from Little Wilbraham¹¹⁷ in Cambridgeshire, which in its turn is said to have yielded some of the earliest types of ordinary Anglo-Saxon cremation pottery known in England.¹¹⁸ Some years earlier, in November 1859, workmen engaged in preparing a site for some buildings on ground belonging to F. W. Calvert in the area known as The Mount, about one mile to the south-west of the Minster in the direction of the Roman road from York to Tadcaster, discovered an inscribed Roman sarcophagus lying about two feet below the surface.¹¹⁹ At the same time and place an unspecified number of cinerary urns were found "of various, some of them unusual, forms," together with fragments of Samian and other pottery.¹²⁰ Contemporary reports refer to the urns and to the sarcophagus in such a way as to imply that both were believed to be Roman, but some years later six of the urns were presented to the York Museum by F. W. Calvert on whose land they had been found, and they had by then been recognized as Saxon.¹²¹ Unfortunately the accounts of this discovery are not detailed enough to show the relation of the Saxon burial urns to the Roman material which was found at the same time. The Saxons had evidently used what we know to have been the site of a large Roman cemetery for their own burials, but there is no evidence to show whether the cemetery remained in continuous use or whether the two phases of its occupation were separated by a considerable interval of time. Other sources refer to the discovery also in 1859, of five Anglo-Saxon urns in a garden which is described as lying about half a mile outside Micklegate Bar. In a paper which was published nine years after this discovery, and which was not concerned with York at all, but with Frilford in Berk-

¹¹⁷ A. Plettke, *Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Angeln und Sachsen*, Hanover, 1921, taf. 50, 51.

¹¹⁸ Collingwood and Myres, *op. cit.*, 387.

¹¹⁹ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 12 Nov. 1859.

¹²⁰ Report of a meeting of the *York. Phil. Soc.* printed in the *Yorkshire Gazette*, 10 Dec. 1859.

¹²¹ *York Museum Handbook*, 1875, 134.

shire, George Rolleston remarked of this find: "Several Roman urns and sarcophagi were found at the same time and place, the Anglo-Saxons having in this, as in so many other Roman stations, used the cemeteries of their predecessors."¹²² This remark led Baldwin Brown to infer that the cemetery had been in continuous use from the Roman into the Anglo-Saxon periods.¹²³ Some recent writers¹²⁴ have regarded the site on The Mount as being quite distinct from the site half a mile outside Micklegate Bar. But both finds are said to have been made in 1859, the descriptions of the two discoveries are remarkably similar, and The Mount is in fact about half a mile outside Micklegate Bar. Research into the earliest accounts of these discoveries suggests rather strongly that the belief that there were two separate sites is a misapprehension due to the practice of different writers using different methods of describing the whereabouts of one and the same place.

It is a strange circumstance that within a mile from the centre of a Roman legionary fortress set on low-lying ground and virtually surrounded by wood or marsh, the very kind of place where we would not have expected to find evidence of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, there should be a large cemetery which bears some indications of being among the earliest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, not only in the north, but also in the whole country. But York was something more than the site of a legionary fortress. It was also the site of a *colonia* as well as the headquarters of the *Dux Britanniarum*, at least as late as 395.¹²⁵ It was, in other words, the most important military centre in Roman Britain, and as such it had been used more than once as the main base for Roman campaigns towards the north. Here, if anywhere in Britain, we might have expected a knowledge of military affairs to have survived the withdrawal of the regular Roman forces. How then did it come about that

¹²² *Arch.*, 42, pt. 2, 433.

¹²³ Baldwin-Brown, *op. cit.*, IV, 802.

¹²⁴ E.g. F. and H. W. Elgee, *op. cit.*, 179.

¹²⁵ C. E. Stevens, *Arch. J.*, xcvii, 141.

York was apparently among the first places in Britain to fall into Anglo-Saxon hands? When we recall that the signal stations on the Yorkshire coast were in occupation about the years 370-395,¹²⁶ and that the defences of Malton were repaired about the same time,¹²⁷ we may well ask this question not merely of York, but of the East Riding as a whole. It is remarkable that the one area north of Humber which has yielded evidence of intensive Anglo-Saxon settlement during the pagan period should be that very area in which an organized Roman command is known to have survived longest.

If we believe that these settlements were solely the result of an invasion such as that which evidently took place along the rivers debouching into the Wash, we find ourselves faced with a situation which is entirely out of keeping with all the evidence that we have discussed so far. Kent was always exposed to invasion because of the short sea-crossing and East Anglia was hardly less so, but Yorkshire was the very core of the military zone of Roman Britain, and although fortifications would be of little value without properly trained men to defend them, we have seen enough to know that the British in the north made such a good recovery, despite the withdrawal of the Roman armies, that they were able to offer vigorous opposition to invasion from more than one quarter. They kept the Pictish menace under control. They expelled the Scots from northern Wales. They came very near to expelling the English from Bam-borough. And even in the reign of Aethelfrith, as it would seem, they were still powerful enough to send an expedition against the English in Yorkshire from as far away as Edinburgh.¹²⁸ Yet in the midst of all these achievements they apparently lost control not only of the Wolds but also of York. We have only to accept the testimony of Gildas, Bede and the *Historia Brittonum* that the Saxons first came

¹²⁶ Collingwood and Myres, *op. cit.*, 285.

¹²⁷ P. Corder, *The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton*, 68.

¹²⁸ See articles summarizing I. Williams' *Caneu Aneirin* by K. Jackson, *Antiquity*, XIII, 25-34, and C. A. Gresham, *Antiquity*, XVI, 237-57.

to the north on the invitation of the Britons, and fought for them against the Picts, and the whole situation immediately becomes intelligible. The cemeteries at Heworth, Sancton and Broughton by Malton, and possibly others, may then be taken to represent the remains, not of Anglo-Saxon invaders, but of Germanic auxiliaries who fought in the service of the Britons and who, as Bede says, were kept supplied with provisions as well as with land on which they could settle in return for their services. The Picts were not a new enemy, and anyone conducting a campaign against them might well be expected to use the base which had served the same purpose for centuries past. If York itself would serve as a military base, the rich corn-growing land on the Wolds would be no less valuable as a source of supply. It may well be that the story of Oetha and Ebissa has preserved a confused reminiscence of these early settlements in Yorkshire. The Gildas tradition that the soldiers, becoming discontented with their pay and supplies, suddenly came to a secret agreement with the Picts and revolted against the British provides a most convincing explanation of how it came about that the East Riding fell into English hands so much sooner than any other territory north of the Humber. For reasons which have already been made plain,¹²⁹ the acceptance of this interpretation does not in the least necessitate the transfer of Hengest and his men from Kent to Yorkshire.

If the appeal for help which was sent to Aetius in his third consulship has been correctly interpreted, the revolt of the Saxons occurred some time in the years 446-450. It seems likely that they would then be present in the north in considerable numbers, partly because they would not otherwise have been in a position to carry out a successful revolt and partly because their revolt was due, according to Gildas, to the inability of the Britons to keep them supplied with provisions. The *Historia Brittonum* has preserved one scrap of information which may perhaps be connected

¹²⁹ Above, pp. 18-19.

with this revolt. The genealogy of the kings of Deira, which is found in the additions to this work, gives the name Soemil as representing the fifth generation in descent from Wodan, and of him it is stated *ipse primus separavit Deur o Birneich*.¹³⁰ Soemil in his turn stands five generations before Aelle, who probably died c. 600.¹³¹ Soemil will therefore have been born c. 400, and will have been active at the time of the Saxon revolt. The dates synchronize. The statement itself is somewhat obscure, but the "separation" from one another of two states bearing British names by a man with a Teutonic name suggests a situation in which one of those states, i.e. Deur, passed under foreign control, a situation not out of keeping with the circumstances of the Saxon revolt. It must, however, be noted that this information about Soemil is not confirmed by any other source, and that the Deiran genealogy preserved in the *Historia Brittonum* is not in agreement with the genealogy found in other sources. The name Soemil is not found at all in the genealogy preserved in the entry for the year 560 (A) of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It is found in MSS cccc 183, BM Vesp. B vi and the *Textus Roffensis*, but it stands seventh in descent from Wodan, instead of fifth as in the *Historia Brittonum*, and furthermore these three texts which are in agreement with one another, differ from the *Historia Brittonum* in the name they give to Soemil's successor. In these circumstances it would be wise to suspend judgement about Soemil's part in the Saxon revolt.

So far as we have been able to detect the main trends in the history of this British heroic age in the north, the evidence suggests with some force that the operations which led to the British recovery were conducted with skill and vigour. There are no less plain indications of some powerful and competent governing authority, probably south of Hadrian's Wall, in the first half of the fifth century. The

¹³⁰ C. 61.

¹³¹ See below, p. 48.

removal of the greater part of an entire tribe from Lothian to north Wales can have been no easy task. It demands a state of affairs in which a single authority controlled the country across which Cunedda and his people had to pass, and it suggests a knowledge of Roman imperial ways of dealing with difficult frontier problems. This latter is also true of the invitation to the Saxons, for in essence the method adopted to deal with the Pictish threat in the north was the same as that adopted to deal with the Scottish threat in Wales. To call in the help of a foreign people was a dangerous, and in the event a disastrous, policy, but it was little more than a development, and one not confined to Britain, of the Roman practice of the fourth century in the course of which an increasingly large part of the Roman armies had been recruited from among the Germanic peoples. If the recovery of the land between the two Walls has been rightly associated with the Theodosian restoration, there was no reason why this area should have been seriously affected by the final withdrawal of the Roman armies. The area of dislocation would lie south of the Hadrianic frontier. It has already been remarked that the thirteen genealogies of that group of kings who were known collectively as *The Men of the North* go back to one or other of two ancestors, Ceredig or Coel Hen. We have already dealt with Ceredig, but who and what was Coel Hen?

One of the representatives of Coel Hen's family in the fifth generation was Guenddoleu, who was killed in the battle of Ardderyd in 574.¹³² It seems probable that the place at which this battle was fought was the same as the modern Arthuret,¹³³ a few miles north of Carlisle. Nearby is the place-name Carwinley and the river name Carwhinelow. Ekwall suggests¹³⁴ that the second and third elements of Carwinley are English in origin, but is it not possible

¹³² *Ann. Cam.*, s.a. 573.

¹³³ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 157, also E. Ekwall, *Dict. of English Place-Names*, s. Arthuret.

¹³⁴ *op. cit.*, s. Carwinley.

that both these names derive, as Skene suggested,¹³⁵ from *Caer Guenddoleu*? If these identifications are correct, Guenddoleu will have belonged to the country near the Solway. One of the descendants of Coel Hen in the sixth generation was Cadrod Calchvynydd, the second part of whose name places him with fair certainty at Kelso.¹³⁶ Of the four British kings who are recorded in the additions to the *Historia Brittonum*¹³⁷ to have fought against Hussa, fifth in succession to Ida of Bernicia, one, namely Rhydderch, was descended from Ceredig, but the other three, Morcant, Gwallaug and Urien, were all descendants of Coel Hen in the fifth generation.¹³⁸ In the sixth century therefore Coel Hen's family seem to have been located, broadly speaking, in what is now the Borderland. Guenddoleu, as we have seen, was killed in 574. Morcant, Gwallaug and Urien flourished in the years following Ida's reign, and it is fair to suppose that they were all grown men *c.* 560. Gwrgi and Peredur who represented another branch of Coel Hen's family in the fifth generation, were killed in 581.¹³⁹ If this fifth generation was born *c.* 530, Coel Hen himself will have been born *c.* 380, and will accordingly have been in the full vigour of his life when the Roman armies withdrew from Britain.

It has been suggested that Coel Hen's name is preserved in that part of Ayrshire which is called Kyle,¹⁴⁰ and that therefore his family was originally located there, but if the evidence of the genealogies has been correctly interpreted it is not easy to see by what process Coel Hen came to found a dynasty in territory which formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde, and which lay so close to its capital, nor is it

¹³⁵ *op. cit.*, I, 157.

¹³⁶ W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, 343.

¹³⁷ *C.*, 63.

¹³⁸ W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 168. For the genealogies of Morcant and Urien in the Harl. MS. see *Y Cymm.*, ix, 173-4. According to the Harl. genealogies Gwallaug belonged to the fourth generation, but a generation seems to be missing from this MS.

¹³⁹ *Ann. Camb.*, s.a. 580; Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 157.

¹⁴⁰ Watson, *op. cit.*, 127.

easy to see how Coel Hen's descendants came to be in possession of the Borderlands in the sixth century. We should rather have expected the movement which placed Coel Hen's family in these parts to have had its starting point farther south. We have seen that Coel Hen himself was probably a fully-grown man at the time of the withdrawal of the Roman forces. The second element in his name is no more than a by-name (Coel the Old), but it is evident from the genealogies and from other sources that his name contained a third element. In No. X of the Harleian genealogies¹⁴¹ he is stated to be the son of Guotepauc the son of Tecmant, but there is an intrusive *map* in this genealogy, and Guotepauc is an epithet which belongs properly to Coel Hen himself, making his name Coel (Hen) Guotepauc.¹⁴² Although the descendants of Coel Hen were commonly known as *Coeling*,¹⁴³ they were also known as "the sons of Godebawc."¹⁴⁴ Omitting the by-name, Coel Guotepauc seems to be the equivalent of Caelius[?] Voteporix.¹⁴⁵ We seem therefore to have a man bearing a name of Roman formation who was born c. 380, and who came to be regarded as the head of a family which by the sixth century embraced several native British dynasties mostly located in northern England and the Borderland. What kind of a man was this likely to be? We think at once of the succession of usurpers set up in the first decade of the fifth century—Marcus, Gratian and Constantine. The first two failed and the third left Britain, but a successful usurpation by a high military official who remained in the area of

¹⁴¹ *Y Cymm.*, ix, 174.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 174, n. 4.

¹⁴³ *Y Cymm.*, xxviii, 208.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹⁴⁵ The second element of this name is found in Guortepir son of Aircol, Harl. Gen., no. 11, the king who is addressed by Gildas and who is thought to be commemorated on the stone from Castell Dwyran (now in Carmarthen Museum), bearing the inscription *memoria voteporigis protictoris*, Macalister, *Corp. Insc. Ins. Celt.*, i, 342-3. There may be some element of doubt in the nominative of the name. The form on the inscription must have had a nominative *Voteporix* (*Y Cymm.*, xxviii, 200, n. 1), but the form in the genealogies suggests a nominative *Voteporius*.

his command, and who was able to organize an army out of the remains left behind after the evacuation, might well have given Coel Hen just that position which the genealogies assign to him. I do not know of any evidence which associates Coel Hen directly with York, but if we are looking for the man who was responsible for bringing the Saxons to the north—and it was here that they came first according to Gildas—this much at least may be said, that Coel Hen satisfies several of the conditions which would be required in such a man—perhaps he satisfies them better than Vortigern does.

The earliest recorded versions of the Deiran genealogy contain four names between Soemil and Aelle. They are *uuestorualcna*, *uuilgils*, *uuscſrea* and *yffe*,¹⁴⁶ but they are names only and nothing is known of the men to whom they belonged. Yffe's successor was Aelle, the first well-authenticated king of Deira. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Aelle ruled from 560 to 588, but neither of these dates seem to be well-founded. Roger of Wendover places Aelle's death in 593,¹⁴⁷ and a passage in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*¹⁴⁸ implies that he was still alive at the time of Augustine's mission in 597. The date of the foundation of the kingdom of Bernicia is securely established at 547. It was calculated by Bede from the official lists of kings and their regnal years which were kept in Northumbria from an early date. It is much more difficult to see where the Bernicians came from. The virtual absence of pagan relics from Bernicia, the date at which the kingdom was first established, and the half century of defensive warfare which followed make it certain that there can have been no invasion such as occurred in other parts of the country. We must rather think that the kingdom found its origin in what was little more than a pirate stronghold on the rock of Bamborough, the result of a small expedition

¹⁴⁶ CCCC 183, f65 a. The names are in the same order in BM Vesp. B vi, though there are some minor variations in spelling.

¹⁴⁷ *Flor. Hist.*, ed. H. O. Coxe, i, 96.

¹⁴⁸ C. LXVI, ed. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. Antiquiss.*, XIII, 309.

which probably set out from somewhere farther south and reached Bamborough by sea.

We may now summarize the results of this attempt to discern the more important political changes which led ultimately to the establishment of Northumbria. The most serious problem of the latter part of the fourth century, a problem upon whose solution the security of the whole of Britain south of the Forth depended, was to find some means of preventing a recurrence of the disaster of 367. That the problem was effectively solved, there is no reason whatsoever to doubt. There is less certainty about the manner and date of its solution, but so far as the evidence goes it points to a phase of vigorous warfare at the time of the Theodosian restoration, as a result of which the frontier was pushed northwards again to the line on which it had rested in the second century, that is to say to the Antonine Wall. The method of holding this reconquered territory was not to man a continuous frontier, as Lollius Urbicus had done, but to secure its extremities by the creation of two independent states, Strathclyde and Manau, which were at first under Roman control, but which later lost their Roman identity and came to be controlled by men who could indeed claim to be of Romano-British descent, but who were in fact native British kings. On the west the dynasty of Strathclyde continued without a break for many generations, and the kingdom itself remained a power in the politics of northern Britain for the next five centuries. On the east the state of Manau had a shorter history because many of its people, including their ruler Cunedda and eight of his sons, were transferred to north Wales in order to meet a dangerous Scottish threat. There is a conflict of evidence about the date of this migration, but what seems to be the more reliable source of information points to a time about the middle of the fifth century. Cunedda's eldest son remained in Manau, presumably in order to secure the southern side of the Forth against any renewal of Pictish aggression. There is evidence enough to warrant

the conjecture that the Picts did renew their attacks and that the weakened defences of Manau proved inadequate to meet them. If this was in fact the case, we can understand why it became necessary for the British to seek help elsewhere. I see no reason for doubting the testimony of Gildas, supported as it is by Bede and the *Historia Brittonum*, that the British employed Saxon mercenaries to help them in their warfare against the Picts in the fifth century. The archæological evidence is entirely in keeping with the literary, and it points to the East Riding of Yorkshire, including York itself, as the area in which the Saxons were settled. The accidental survival of a detailed tradition about Hengest's invasion of Kent has been allowed to distort the general picture and to obscure the importance of this early Saxon settlement in the north. The device of employing foreign soldiers was at first successful, but after a short while, not later than 450, the Saxons rebelled and were able to secure themselves in the possession of York and of much of the East Riding. By some process of which we have no detailed record, this nucleus developed into the kingdom of Deira. About a century later, possibly as an offshoot from Deira or somewhere farther south, a foothold was secured at Bamborough. Vigorous British efforts to dislodge the invaders were unsuccessful and the kingdom of Bernicia emerged, later to be united with Deira and to form part of the single kingdom of Northumbria.

No ordinary mortal can expect to be properly qualified to interpret late Roman, old Welsh, old English and medieval Latin records, to say nothing of the archæological evidence. It may therefore be thought presumptuous for one who cannot claim to be an expert in any of these branches of learning to have attempted to make use of them all. Yet without such a synthesis it is certain that the origins of Northumbria cannot be properly understood. Much of what I have written must be regarded as conjectural, some may be condemned forthwith as unwarranted speculation, and there are, of course, many problems upon

which I have not ventured to touch at all. But it has seemed to me, and I claim no more than this, that the sources, taken together and not in isolation, do suggest a possible sequence of events. We have become so accustomed to regarding this period of history as part of the Dark Ages that we have perhaps tended to envelop those whom we study in the darkness through which we ourselves move, to forget that this was indeed the British Heroic Age. If we have achieved no more we have perhaps achieved a better understanding of the background to that passage in the *Historia Brittonum* which reads :

*Tunc Talhaern Tataguen in poemate claruit et Neirin, et Taliessin, et Bluchbard, et Cian, qui vocatur Gueinth Guaut, simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt.*¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ C. 62.

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II.—FIGURED SAMIAN FROM BENWELL, 1938.

By ERIC BIRLEY.

[Read on 25th November 1946.]

The following abbreviations are employed :

- AA⁴ *Archæologia Aeliana*, fourth series.
CW² *Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions*, new series.
D. Déchelette's figure-type.
Oswald Oswald's figure-type.

It will be recalled that a chance discovery in 1932 led to the excavation, in the following year, of an original stone-revetted causeway across the ditch of the Vallum, a short distance south of the Wall fort at Benwell-Condercum.¹ At the time of the 1933 excavation it was noted that the gateway astride the causeway had continued in use long after the Vallum ditch had been filled in, and that buildings had been erected on either side of it, above the filled-in ditch; but the primary purpose of the excavation was to ascertain the character of the causeway itself, and neither time nor funds sufficed to permit an extended examination of the later buildings or of the stratification underlying them. Five years later, however, when Benwell Park was giving place to a modern housing estate, the causeway and its immediate surroundings were placed in the custody of H.M. Office of Works, and the Durham University Excavation Committee was entrusted by the

¹ Cf. AA⁴ x, 101, XI, 176f. (pl. xxv shows the position of the causeway in relation to the fort, and fig. 3, p. 180, the portions of the later buildings, A-D, found and examined on that occasion).

Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments with the task of completing the archaeological examination of the site before its consolidation for permanent display as an ancient monument. The excavations of 1938 were under the immediate supervision of the rev. W. L. George; the unexpectedly large yield of stratified finds required so much detailed study that it was not possible for him to produce a report in 1939, but it was hoped that by the spring of 1940 such a report might be completed and laid before this society. *Dis aliter visum*: the outbreak of war interrupted our study of the Benwell finds, and it has not been easy to take up the threads of that study again after seven years; Mr. George is no longer in Durham (where the material was concentrated for study), and has other and more pressing commitments to meet: and the study of the coarse pottery has therefore been entrusted to Mr. J. P. Gillam who, it is hoped, will be able to deal with it within the framework of the wider survey of the Roman pottery of the north of Britain on which he is now engaged. An account of the stratification, and an interpretation of the historical sequence, must obviously await the completion of Mr. Gillam's researches, but there are good reasons for earlier publication of one group of finds, namely the figured samian ware. For one thing, it is most desirable that as much as possible of that material from sites first occupied under Hadrian should be published without delay, in order to give specialists an opportunity for adding to their stock of demonstrably Hadrianic types (by comparing the series from Antonine sites, such as those on the Wall of Pius in Scotland, and noting which styles no longer appear there, though still represented on Hadrian's Wall). I had hoped that the Benwell material might have been drawn and described by Mr. J. A. Stanfield, whose superlative artistry and profound knowledge of this class of material had already been displayed to readers of *Archæologia Aeliana*,² though the bulk of his published work appeared elsewhere;

² Cf. AA⁴ VIII, 204f.; IX, 220f.; XIII, 242f.; XV, 223f. and 348f.

and early in 1939 I placed the whole group in his hands for study. In that case too, however, the outbreak of war compelled the laying aside of the task; and the additional strain of work to the limits of human endurance, which Mr. Stanfield's duties and conscience required of him in the public service, was undoubtedly the cause of his sudden and untimely death early in 1945. It is difficult to express the full measure of the loss which learning has sustained at his passing. I hope to have an opportunity, in due course, of paying full tribute to his qualities as an artist, a scholar and a man; in the meantime I can only emphasize my own sense of loss, and my regret that my own drawings and description of the Benwell material fall so far below his standard: at least, it is a standard that nobody else in this country or abroad has been able to reach. And it is a pleasant duty to add, that Mrs. Stanfield has been good enough to entrust me with the task of preparing his large series of unpublished drawings and his notes for publication, and that in dealing with the Benwell material I have therefore been able to draw on the invaluable wealth of the Stanfield collections.

The group of figured samian dealt with in the present paper includes almost all the material found in 1938, with two important exceptions: two bowls of Dragendorff's form 37 were found, broken but tolerably complete, in the first occupation layer overlying the filled-in Vallum ditch (one of them was a Lezoux bowl in the style of *DIVIXTVS*, the other a signed product of the Rheinzabern potter *IANVS*), and I have not yet succeeded in tracing their present whereabouts; publication of them must await their rediscovery. Apart from them, there are only five scraps which I have left undrawn, none of which deserves publication.³ Taken in conjunction with the figured samian from the excavations

³ Publication of the few pieces found in 1933 (AA⁴ x, 176) seems on balance to be unnecessary; there are not enough to provide a full-page figure, they do not alter the general picture provided by the 1938 series, and they are mostly in so worn and friable a condition that it would not be easy to produce accurate and effective drawings.

in Benwell fort in 1926 and 1927,⁴ the 1938 material gives us a far larger group than has hitherto been obtained and published from any of the forts on Hadrian's Wall; and it may be permissible to draw attention now to certain points which emerge from a study of the group as a whole. It will be remembered that the final excavations on the site of the fort itself⁵ emphasized that the Hadrianic stone fort was the first structure on the site, and indeed they produced an inscription to prove the Hadrianic attribution. That makes the analysis of the earliest pieces in the group of particular interest; for if any of them are typologically pre-Hadrianic, we shall be justified in interpreting them as "survivals," that is to say, stray pieces which had outlasted the bulk of their contemporaries: there is no longer room for us to postulate, on their evidence, the existence of an earlier fort at Benwell.

(a) *The earliest pieces.*

South Gaulish products are still represented; nos. 19 and 39 are both assignable to La Graufesenque, and so is the fragment reproduced in Mr. Petch's report on the excavations of 1927, AA⁴ v, pl. xviii, 7. That is to say, perhaps two per cent of the whole series from the site comes from southern Gaul, whose potteries are generally held (rightly, in my opinion) to have closed down by *circa* A.D. 100. The occurrence of their products at Benwell or other Hadrianic sites⁶ does not necessarily invalidate that conclusion, for it is a commonplace that the closing years of their activity witnessed a very large output indeed, and it would not therefore be surprising if a small proportion of that output lingered on in use into the early years of Hadrian. More noteworthy at Benwell is the complete absence of the typically Trajanic class of Central Gaulish

⁴ AA⁴ iv, 169f.; v, 59f. and 63f.

⁵ AA⁴ xix. 1f.

⁶ Wallisend: *Northumberland County History*, xiii, 486; 48a (Willowford east) turret: CW² xxvi, 449f. (the vessel here had been broken and repaired with rivets).

wares, of the schools of LIBERTVS and IOENALIS, DONNAVCVS and RANTO, or the potters (their names still remain to be discovered) whose work is characterized by the use of such decorative details as the ram's horn wreaths or the anchor pattern.⁷ Such wares, too, have been noted as "survivals" on Hadrianic sites,⁸ but it is in deposits of the immediately preceding period that they are normally met with. The 1938 group, however, does include a number of pieces with close affinities to the Trajanic group, such as nos. 1-18 and 45-47 in particular; indeed, before Mr. Stanfield's detailed analysis of the Trajanic potters had been made, any of these pieces might well have been assigned, on typological grounds, to that period. But the case is altered now, all the more so with the demonstration of a date *circa* A.D. 125 for the forts of Hadrian's Wall, and the expansion of the series of figured samian from those forts; thus, the potter G. IVLIVS VIBIVS, to whom nos. 1-5, 45 and 46 may be assigned without hesitation, is also represented at Birdoswald and Housesteads, as well as at milecastle 48 (Poltross Burn) and the detached fortlet at Cardurnock, west of Bowness on Solway.⁹ It is possible to assign a Hadrianic date to some 28 out of the 110 pieces of the 1938 series; that is to say, about a quarter of the whole group is Hadrianic, and the remainder (less the two South Gaulish pieces) is to be assigned to the time of Antoninus Pius or later.¹⁰

⁷ Cf. *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxv, 59f.: the pre-Hadrianic deposits from Corbridge, by contrast, have yielded a large and interesting series of this class of material.

⁸ E.g. Birdoswald: *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, 2, and two unpublished fragments.

⁹ A note on this potter and the distribution of his wares in Britain and on the continent will be found in the report on excavations at Cardurnock, to appear in CW² XLVII.

¹⁰ Hadrianic: nos. 1-18, 20-23, 44-49; the attribution of no. 92 remains open to question; on balance I am inclined to attribute it to the school of SARTO, and the time of Hadrian, but it may be South Gaulish and pre-Hadrianic (unfortunately it is in a much abraded condition, and it is no longer possible to use its glaze or surface texture as evidence).

(b) *Later Central Gaulish ware.*

Later Lezoux ware is well represented, providing 59 or 60 pieces; that is to say, it forms over 50 per cent of the whole group and three-quarters of the post-Hadrianic material. Few of the pieces call for detailed comment, and most of them can be matched, for example, by specimens from the Antonine Wall in Scotland. But particular attention may be directed to nos. 36, 37 and 40-43 which, with the Rheinzabern piece, no. 38, represent the latest material distinguishable among the filling of the Vallum ditch, and so provide evidence for the period after which it was eliminated at this site; detailed discussion must be reserved until the large group of coarse pottery from the ditch-filling has been studied in detail, but it may be noted that the figured samian suggests that the filling took place nearer A.D. 160 than 140.

(c) *East Gaulish ware.*

Rheinzabern, as usual, is best represented of the East Gaulish potteries, with nine or ten pieces;¹¹ two or three pieces come from Trier (these may well date from the time of Severus, thus constituting the latest items in the whole group¹²); La Madeleine is represented by nos. 101-103 and 109, while no. 110 is attributable to Lavoye; no. 105 is certainly East Gaulish, but I am not in a position to assign it to a specific pottery. The products of La Madeleine and Lavoye in particular have seldom been noted in any quantity in Britain, but Corbridge has produced a reasonably large number of pieces attributable to them, and it would be well worth while for the British material as a whole to be studied and published; in passing, I may note that the dating of the periods of activity of those and the other East Gaulish potteries is still in need of reasoned demonstration, and that it will certainly prove to be somewhat later than has usually

¹¹ Nos. 33, 93-100 and 106; nos. 94 and 95 probably belong to the same vessel.

¹² Nos. 104, 107 (?) and 108 (the latter possibly part of the same vessel as AA⁴ v, pl. xx, 1, 32).

been believed.¹³ In this connection, it is perhaps worth pointing out that with the exception of nos. 33 and 38, all the East Gaulish pieces in the present group come from deposits formed after the filling in of the Vallum ditch; and the immediate and perhaps justifiable assumption will be that most of them should be dated later than A.D. 150.

(d) *Signed and attributable pieces.*

It would be inappropriate to include a detailed analysis of every fragment in a paper addressed to others besides specialists; but I may be excused for inserting notes on the three pieces which carry the names of their makers, and on several others which are attributable without hesitation to specific potters, because of the details of their decoration; brief notes will suffice in most cases.

(i) Nos. 1-5, 45 and 46. Almost all the figure-types and decorative details can be matched on vessels signed by the potter G. IVLIVS VIBIVS (cf. note 9 above), but the *rosette* on nos. 2 and 4 has not previously been noted on his bowls.

(ii) No. 8. This fragment shows part of the signature, written normally in the mould and thus appearing in reverse on bowls made in that mould, of the potter PATERCLOS; the decorative details, a *straight wreath* of trifid leaves repeated, and a fine wavy line terminating in a (rather blurred) *eight-bead rosette* recur on a larger piece signed by the same potter, illustrated (not very clearly) in May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, pl. XXVI, 42; he was closely associated with QVINTILIANVS and GRATVS and, less closely, with BASSVS: his *floruit* may be set nearer 120 than 130.

(iii) No. 9. The greater part of a fairly large bowl, probably assignable to QVINTILIANVS rather than PATERCLOS; note the similar *straight wreath*, *wavy line* and *rosettes*; the *astragali* astride the wavy lines are typical of

¹³ Oswald and Pryce assigned the La Madeleine and Lavoye potteries to the times of Trajan and Hadrian respectively; at Corbridge the associations seem in each case to be Antonine, but it is not yet possible to say from which of the two successive Antonine levels the material at present available came.

both potters, but the *ovolo* seems not to have been recorded for either of them. The principal figure-types persist into the Antonine period, and one or two of them first appear on the products of Trajanic potters; the smaller decorative details confirm a dating on typological grounds to the time of Hadrian. The figure-types are as follows, from l. to r. : small *siren* to front, D.500; *pigmy with spear* to l., D.439; an unidentified figure to r.; *Mercury* to r., D.95; *tripod*, D.1068; *Satyr* to r. but looking l. (cf. D.409); small *bird* to r. but looking l. (cf. Oswald 2294); *leaf pattern*, D.1148; *spearman* to r., lacking his spear, D.626a.¹⁴

(iv) Nos. 11 and 12. Small fragments, exhibiting closely related *ovolos* whose thick, hatched tongues terminate in blurred rosettes, attached rather awkwardly, with *wavy line* below. They may well be the work of one and the same potter, whose style is easily distinguishable, though his name is not yet known; judging by his decorative types, the period of his activity, too, was *circa* 120-130. and he shows certain affinities with the Lezoux potter BASSVS.

(v) Nos. 33, 38, 93-96. Several pieces assignable to IANVS of Rheinzabern; note the *ovolo*, the *notched line* in place of bead-row or wavy line, the characteristic *notched circle* of nos. 94 and 95, and the *trifid leaf* (reminiscent of that on nos. 8 and 9) of no. 33. It seems probable that the *floruit* of this potter should be placed *circa* 140-150, but in this case, too, further study of the material from British sites, long overdue, should enable a more positive dating to be offered.

(vi) No. 37. Fragment showing part of the retrograde stamp OF ATT applied upside down below the decoration, which has been a continuous winding scroll of the type, characteristic of the Antonine period, to which nos. 42, 43

¹⁴ Cf. Oswald's *Index of Figure-types*, p. 13f., for an equation of his type numbers with Déchelette's; the latter's drawings are more exact, and therefore more convenient to use in identifying individual pieces, but, Oswald's text is an indispensable guide to identifying the potters who used individual types.

and 82-84 also belong. A case can be made out for assigning the work of ATTIANVS to a period beginning *circa* 120, but the present piece is typologically as late as any of his work that I have seen, and it can hardly have been made before the middle of the second century.

(vii) Nos. 62 and 63. The "snake and rock" *motif* in the field was used by three different potters, ATTIANVS, CRICIRO and DIVIXTVS; the present piece seems most likely to have been made by the first-named of the three, but this is one of the cases in which it is not yet possible to claim certain identification of the maker.

(viii) No. 64. This piece may be attributed, in the light of the Stanfield collections, to the potter TITIVS, the only one known to have used the *charioteer* to r. here shown (not in D. or Oswald); the *bear* to r. is D.809, and the *leopard* to r. a reduced version of D.799.

(ix) Nos. 97 and 98. Portions of separate bowls, both Dr.30, in the first case bearing part of the stamp of CORNERTVS of Rheinzabern, and in the second certainly attributable to him. He is in many respects the most interesting of the Rheinzabern potters, and a monograph on his work would be most welcome; he is well represented in the Corbridge collection, his products falling into three well defined typological groups: the earliest of these suggests some affinity with Hadrianic or earlier Lezoux potters, and the latest (represented on the Outer *Limes* in Germany, and thus later than the middle of the second century) has freed itself altogether from Central Gaulish influence; the present instances belong to the intermediate period, which is still influenced in lay-out by Lezoux styles.

(x) No. 106. Mere fragment, showing an *ovolo* assignable to REGINVS of Rheinzabern; note the *notched line*, similar to that used by IANVS, his contemporary.

No attempt has been made to pick out the many pieces assignable to the chief mass-producer of Lezoux, CINNAMVS, but it may be noted that nos. 66-70, all in his style, are all Dr.30, and no. 85 shows an *ovolo* only known on his

work, associated with a decorative style quite unusual for him.

(e) *Details of stratification.*

Discussion of the dating value of individual pieces or groups, in relation to the deposits in which they were found, must be left until the appearance of the final report on the causeway site; but it may be convenient if I add a note on the associations of the pieces here illustrated.

(i) Nos. 1-43 and 91 come from the filling of the Vallum ditch; the soil conditions suggested that that filling occurred at one time, by human agency, rather than by gradual accumulation, and the pottery will thus represent the dumping in the ditch of material cleared up from elsewhere on the site. That interpretation is confirmed by the large bowl, no. 9, one portion of which was actually found inside the fort, while two fragments came from above the filling, in deposits underlying the stone buildings A and B respectively.

(ii) Nos. 65 and 100 are stray finds from third-century or later levels, and nos. 62, 83, 84 and 107 were unstratified.

(iii) The remaining pieces all came from occupation levels overlying the Vallum ditch filling, and below the stone buildings—as it happens, more than half of them from underneath A, and most of the rest from underneath C, as if in those cases the second-century timber predecessors of the stone buildings had been occupied by the richest tenants. But it should be noted that not all the pieces can be assigned to the period when the timber buildings were in occupation: the example of no. 9, just referred to, will show that some of the rubbish which escaped tipping into the ditch of the Vallum must have been used to level up the floors of the buildings erected over it; and that will serve to explain the occurrence of pieces by the early Hadrianic potter G. IVI.IVS VIBIVS, nos. 45 and 46, and other Hadrianic material, in layers which (in view of the underlying material sealed in the Vallum ditch) cannot well have been laid much before A.D. 160.

It must be added that the arrangement of the drawings has been made, as far as possible, according to the source and period of the pieces concerned, with the exception that figures 1 and 2 show all but one of the pieces from the filling of the Vallum ditch, and none from elsewhere, while all but one of the pieces illustrated in figures 3-5 come from deposits overlying that filling. But considerations of space have necessarily involved a certain amount of interference with a logical arrangement of pieces; for example, it proved impracticable to place the three Trier pieces in a group together at the end of figure 5.

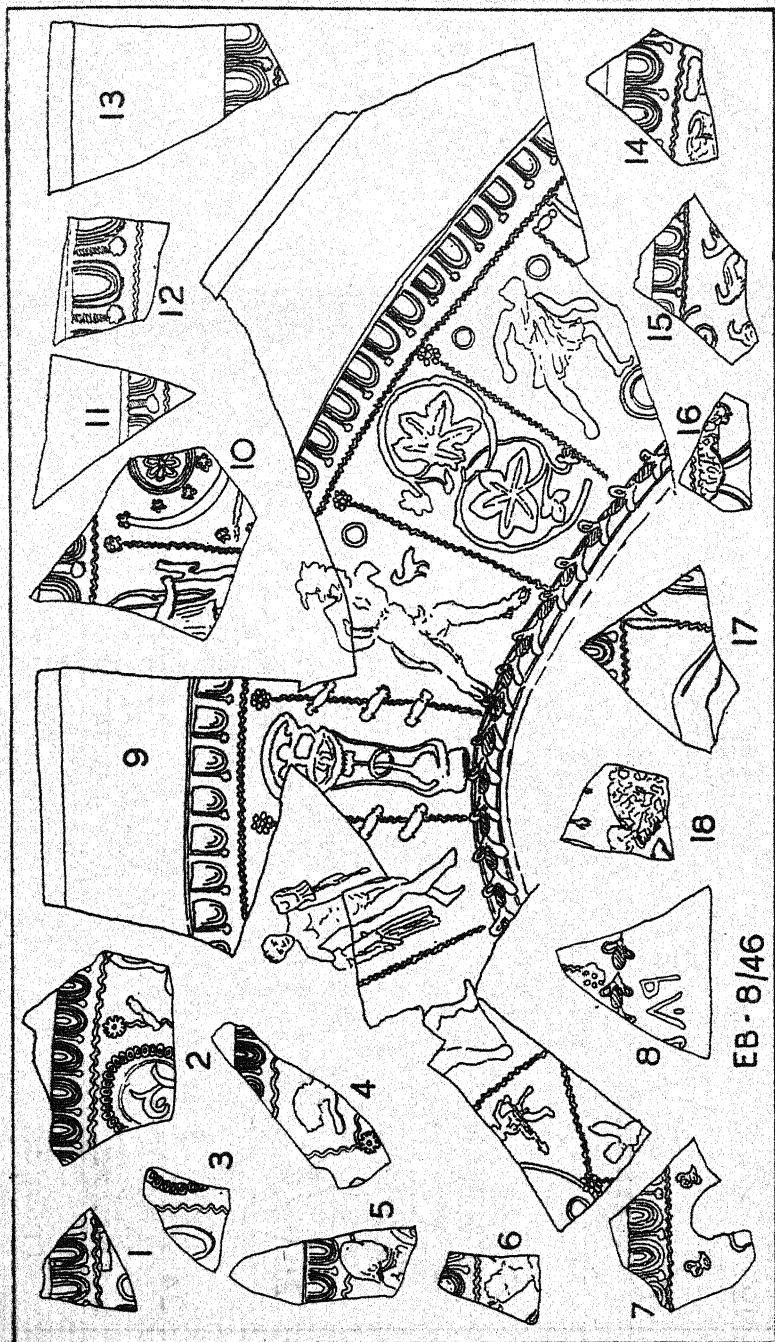


FIG. 1. SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR.

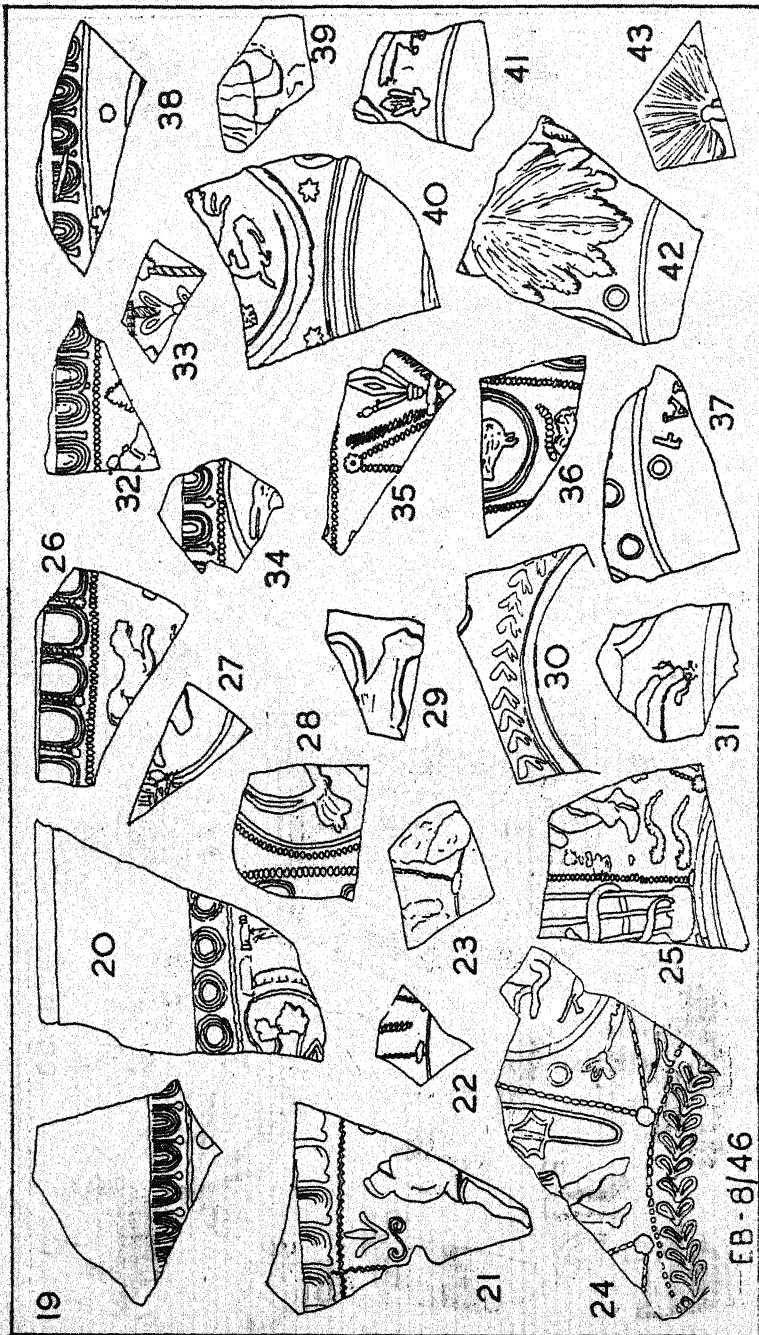


FIG. 2. SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR.

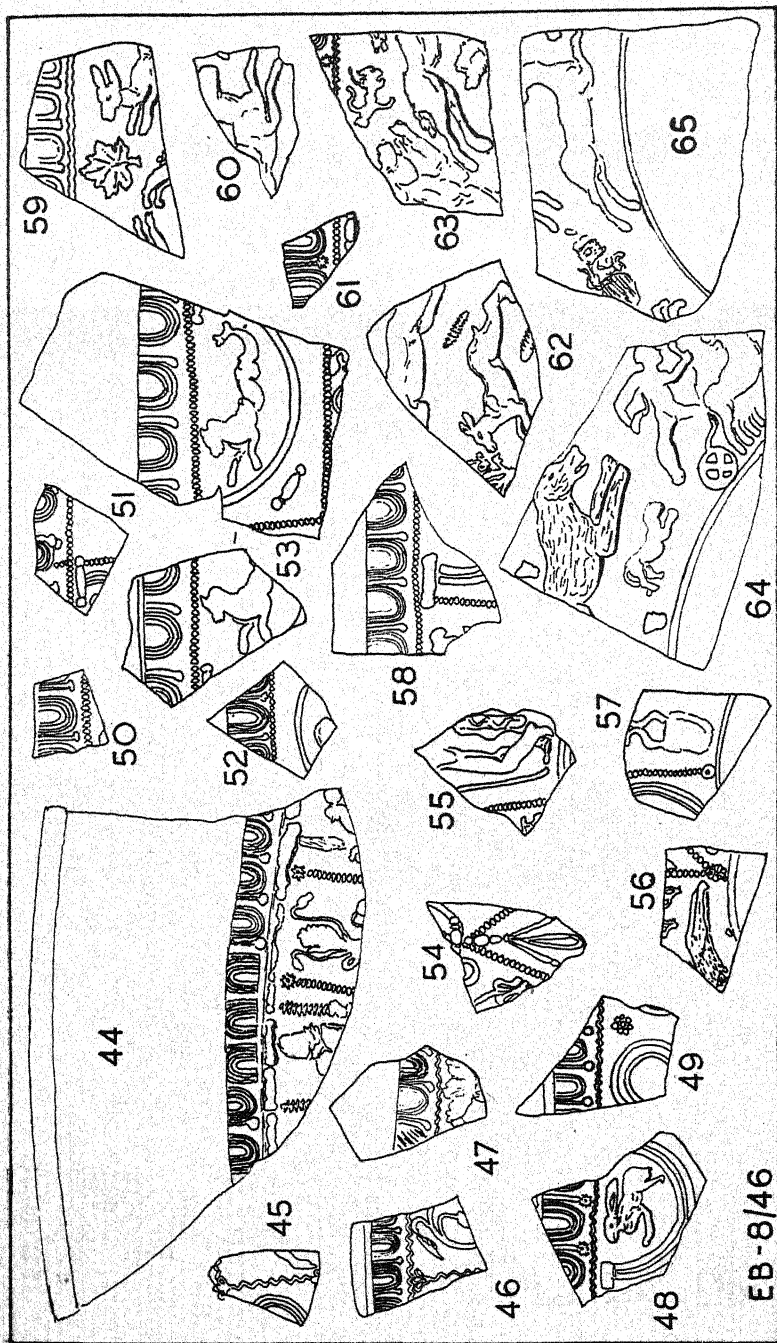


FIG. 3. SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR.

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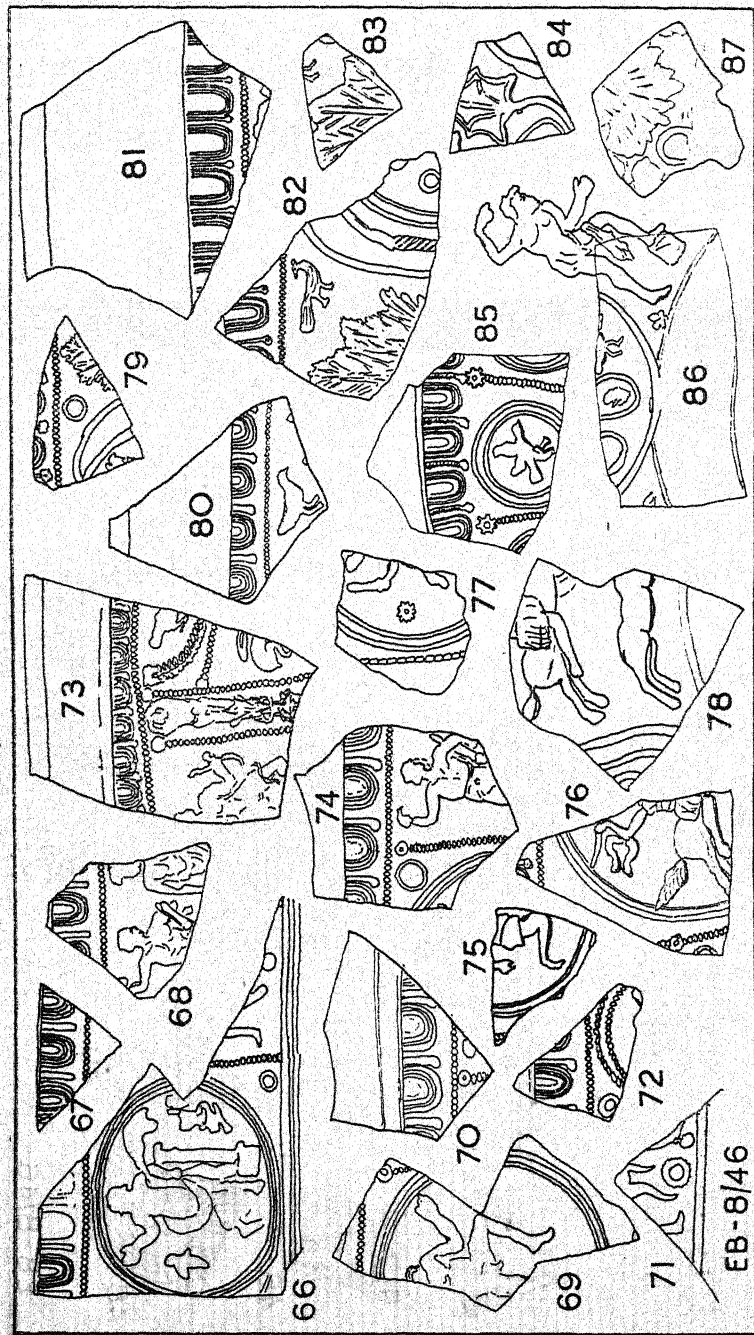


FIG. 4. SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR.

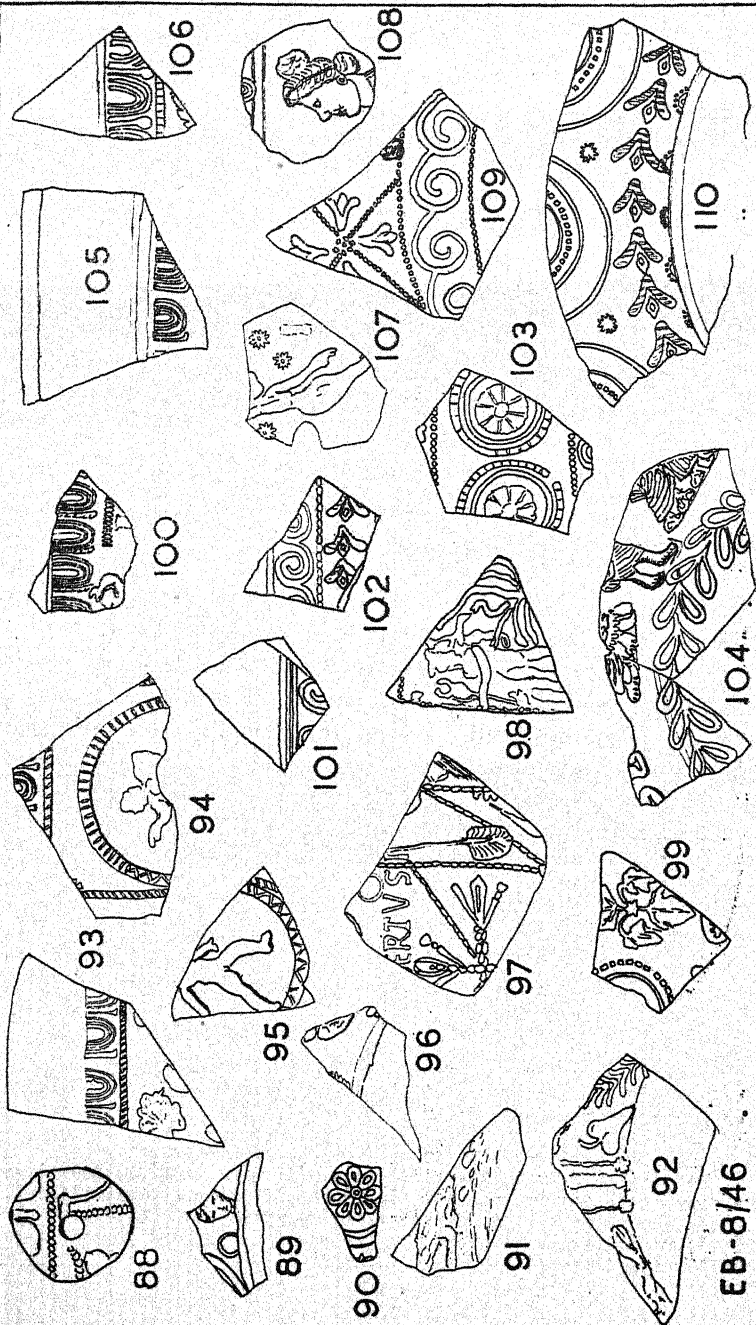


FIG. 5. SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR.

III.—NORTHERN KNIGHTS AT FALKIRK, 1298.

By C. H. HUNTER BLAIR.

INTRODUCTION.

*. . . old unhappy, far off things,
And battles long ago.*

This list of knights begins with accounts of the twenty-six bannerets (*seigneurs a banniere*) who with their retinues of knights bachelor (*milites simplici*), esquires (*scutiferi*) and vallets (*valletti*)¹ formed the division (*bataille*) commanded by Antony Beke,² bishop and lord palatine of Durham, at the battle of Falkirk, fought on St. Mary Magdalene's day, 22nd July 1298. Their names are taken from the contemporary Falkirk roll of arms³ which contains the names and blasons the arms of one hundred and eleven bannerets who were divided into four *batailles* named and commanded as follows :



Le Vaunte Garde. HENRY DE LACY, Counte de Nichole,⁴ chevetaigne de la premier bataille—porte *d'or ung leon rampant de purpure*. With him were the Constable and the Marshal of England. HUMFRAY DE BOUNE,⁵ Counte de Herford, Conestable de Engleterre—porte *dazure ove ung bende*

¹ *Valletti* is the name used in the list of horses valued for the campaign, *scutiferi* is also used, both words appear to refer to the same rank, and include both esquires who later became knights as well as ordinary troopers.

² So spelt in the *Falkirk Roll* and the *Complete Peerage*.

³ Printed *Reliquary*, xvi, and *Scotland in 1298*, both are done from a copy of the original, now lost, by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, 1606. This copy is in the MS. Harleian, 6589.

⁴ Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury, d. 1311.

⁵ Earl of Hereford and Essex, d. 1322.

dargent ov vi leonceux dor ov deux colises dor (plate I, nos. 2, 7). ROGER BYGOT,⁶ Counte Mareshall dEngleterre—*porte party dor et de vert ov ung leon rampant de gulez* (plate I, no. 6). Eighteen bannerets were with them.

*La 11^e bataille cest la bataille l'Evesk de duresme ANTOYN BEKE*⁷—*porte de gulez ov ung fer de molyn dermin* (plate I, no. 3). Twenty-six bannerets were in his command.

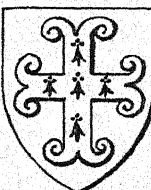
La 11^e bataille, cest la bataille le Roy—*porte de gulez ov trois leoparden passauntz dor* (plate I, no. 1). Forty-six bannerets were in the king's division. *La 11^e bataille. Cest la quarte bataille.* S^r JOHN COUNT DE GAREIN⁸ chevetain del quarte bataille—*porte eschekere dor et dazure* (plate I, no. 5). Eighteen bannerets were in his command. Few indeed of these one hundred and eleven bannerets were from the North. The greater part of the sequel, however, contains short biographies with their armorials of the bannerets, knights and vallets from Northumberland who either received writs of summons, had letters of protection or whose horses were valued for the campaign. The names are taken from *Scotland in 1298, A Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ed. by Jos. Bain, vol. II, and from the Patent and Close rolls of the period. The northern bannerets with Antony Beke were Gilbert of Umfraville, earl of Angus, with twenty-one knights and vallets, Robert fitz Roger with twelve, Henry Percy with seven, Sir William



BOHUN.



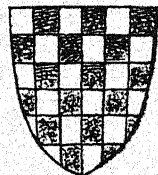
BIGOD.



BEKE.



EDWARD.



WARENNE.

⁶ Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, d. 1306. The arms are those of William the Marshal, earl of Pembroke.

⁷ See *post*, p. 78.

⁸ John of Warenne, earl of Surrey, Sussex and Warenne, d. 1305.

Felton of the king's household with thirteen. There were also twenty northern knights and vallets whose names occur in the retinues of various bannerets. Only two bannerets came from the palatinate of Durham, both being in the bishop's command, namely Sir John fitz Marmaduke and Sir Robert of Hilton.

The men of the bishopric—*Haliwerfolk*—though summoned to war by their lord, deserted in a body and took no part in the campaign. Robert of Graystanes,⁹ the historian of Durham, gives the reason. "For the Bishop had already on two occasions compelled the men of the bishopric to go with him for the war of Scotland, with horses and arms; and when they returned home on the second occasion without having been dismissed by him, he had them imprisoned at Durham. And they, taking this ill, made themselves a faction against the Bishop, saying that they were 'Haliwerfolk,' and that they held their lands for the defence of the body of St. Cuthbert, and that they were not held to go outside the borders of the bishopric, that is beyond Tyne and Tees, for King or Bishop."

Surtees (SD I, xxxii) confuses the campaign of 1296 with that of 1298, and places the siege of Caerlaverock (July 1300) before the battle of Falkirk. It is not at all probable that the banner of St. Cuthbert was at the latter, but it probably was present at Caerlaverock, to which campaign Beke, unable to be present in person, sent 160 men-at-arms under his own banner (*post*, p. 80). On 27th Nov. 1300,¹⁰ Edward returned by special messengers, to their respective homes, the banners of St. Cuthbert and St. John of Beverley.

The defeat of a small English force¹¹ under John earl

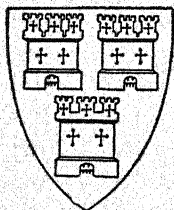
⁹ SS, vol. 9. p. 76. Trans. by Mr. D. B. de Mesquita of King's College.

¹⁰ CDS, p. 300.

¹¹ Only four of Edward's bannerets were with Warenne—Henry Percy, Walter Huntercombe, John fitz Marmaduke and Hugh Cressingham. The latter was slain when the English vanguard was cut off, Fitz Marmaduke by great valour cut his way back over the bridge to the main army with which both Percy and Huntercombe had remained.

Warrenne, the king's lieutenant, at the Bridge of Stirling on 11th September 1297 by Sir William Wallace and his band of patriotic Scots, forced Warrenne to give up the line of the Forth and retreat to Berwick upon Tweed.

Wallace then overran the Lowlands and fiercely invaded Northumberland and Cumberland. These events caused Edward to return from Flanders, where he then was, accompanied by the barons with him and by his "secretary," Antony Beke. Edward then summoned certain of his tenants in chief and levies of footmen from selected districts, chiefly from Wales, the Welsh Marches and the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire;¹² these comprised expert archers from Gower and South Wales and veterans trained to war in Edward's Welsh campaigns. These levies came to about 21,500 men, their mustering place was Newcastle upon Tyne. The mounted force, bannerets, knights, esquires and vallets was approximately 2,500.¹³ The king with his household (*hospicium regis*) went north in the late spring of 1298. He arrived at York on 26th May and, going by way of Beverley, Wilton, Kirkham and Northallerton, reached Durham on 12th June, when he stayed at Kepier, he went thence to Newcastle where he remained for some days.



Early in 1298 Sir John Kirby, sheriff of Northumberland, was ordered to put the castle of Newcastle upon Tyne in a good state of defence against "the Scots rebels then ravaging the kingdom."¹⁴ Under the direction of an "engineer" a springald was made, cross-bow engines put in order and large quantities of ballista balls, iron quarrels, feathers, etc., were collected. The embrasures of the castle walls were closed by wooden shutters, a turret behind the keep

¹² Morris, pp. 286-91; Oman, II, 77.

¹³ Oman, II, 77n. Morris, pp. 288-91.

¹⁴ CDS, p. 261.

repaired, trunks of trees and *turrets* were hung outside the walls fastened there by twigs from Chopwell woods, a brattice (*bretasche*) was made behind the chapel and two posterns behind the hall repaired. A great store of provisions, including live-stock, beer, turves, salt and coal, was collected as well as a very large amount of transport. Wages were paid to 88 archers, 88 crossbow men and 6 men-at-arms.¹⁵ Such care for defence and so large a garrison show that at that time the town walls were not of defensible strength and probably not completed. Edward stayed at Newcastle upon Tyne until 29th June, when he went north to Alnwick and thence by way of Chillingham, Roxburgh, Redpath, Lauder and Dalhousie to Kirk Liston, where he remained from 15th to 20th July.^{15a}

On July 21st the army marched towards Linlithgow. Near that town he with his army slept for the night, and so on the next day to the place a little south of Falkirk, where, in a strong position on a hillside, he found Sir William Wallace with his force arrayed in four massed circles, called schiltrons, awaiting his attack. The course of the battle that followed has been very graphically described by Walter of Hemingburgh¹⁶ as follows:

"And so, when everything was ready, the king set out at about the third hour from that place of Templeliston, directing his steps towards the place called Falkirk. And every one wondered that he should have changed his plan; and he marched on slowly and indirectly, without any haste. And when he had come to a halting-place on this side of Linlithgow, they passed the night there, and lay down to rest on the ground, arranging their shields as pillows and their arms as coverlets. Their horses, too, tasted nothing save hard steel, and were tethered each one hard by his lord. And when they had halted a while, and the night was about half way passed, it chanced that the king's charger,

¹⁵ CDS, p. 261.

^{15a} Scot. 1298, *passim*.

¹⁶ *Chronicon domini Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. London, 1849, pp. 177-81. The translation here given has been made by Mr. D. B. de Mesquita of King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne.

carelessly watched by a page, kicked back and placed its hoof upon the king himself as he lay. And when this was learnt, namely that the king was hurt, the cry at once arose that a plot was afoot, and that the enemy was ready to burst in among them. So forthwith they prepared themselves, and their spirits rose for the engagement. However, when the nature of the accident was known, and that the king was slightly hurt, they commiserated with him, and he calmed their spirits. And the king at once mounted, and they set forth and passed through the town of Linlithgow at break of day. And when they raised their eyes, and looked closely at the hill facing them, they saw many spearmen on the brow of the hill. And believing that the army of the Scots was there, they made haste to climb it in order of battle, but yet when they came there they found no one. And they set up a tent there, and the king and the bishop heard the mass of the Magdalene, for that was the office of the day. And when the sacred rites were done, and men could recognize one another as the light grew clear, our men saw the Scots in the distance, drawing up their line of battle and making themselves ready for the fight. For the Scots had ordered all their people in four troops, in the manner of circles, in a rough field and with one flank next to Falkirk. In these circles the spearmen were settled, with their lances raised obliquely; linked each one with his neighbour, and their faces turned towards the circumference of the circles. Between those circles were intervening spaces, in which archers were drawn up. And at the back, on the extreme flank, were their knights. And when, after mass had been celebrated, these things were told to our king, he hesitated, and suggested that they should pitch their tents until such time as men and beasts had taken some food. For they had not eaten since the third hour of the day before. But they said to him: 'This is not safe, Sire, for between these two armies there is nothing but a very small stream.' And the king said: 'What then?' and they said: 'Let us ride in the name of God, for the field and

the victory are ours.' And the king said : ' So be it, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' And forthwith the leaders of the first column, namely the earl marshal, the earl of Hereford and the earl of Lincoln, directed their column straight towards the enemy, not knowing of a morass which lay between. When they saw it, they led the way round it on the western side, and so were in some measure delayed : while the second column, that namely of the bishop of Durham, which had been formed by 36 chosen knights bannerets,¹⁷ knowing of the obstacle of that lake, swerved eastwards in order to go around it. As they hastened unduly, in order to sustain the first blows of the battle, the bishop himself gave the order to await the approach of the third column, that of the king ; and that gallant knight Ralph Basset of Drayton answered him and said : ' It is not your office, bishop, to instruct us at this juncture in the art of war ; you should rather concern yourself with mass. Go,' he said, ' and celebrate mass if you will, for on this day we will do the fighting.' And they hastened on, and immediately afterwards came up against the first circle of the Scots ; and the aforesaid earls with the first column came up with them from the other side. And soon, as our men arrived, the Scottish knights fled without a stroke of the sword ; a few, however, stayed, and these in order to control the circles of footmen, which circles are called ' schiltrouns.' Among these the brother of the seneschal of Scotland, when he had set in array the archers from the forest of Selkirk, fell by chance from his horse, and was killed in the midst of those same archers ; for the archers took up their positions around him, and with him fell men of fine build and tall stature. And so the archers were destroyed, and our men turned upon the Scottish spearmen, who, as I have said, were settled in circles with their lances turned obliquely and in the manner of a thick wood. And since our knights could not break through on account of the number of spears,

¹⁷ Should be 26.

they assailed the outer ones and pierced many with their spears. And our footmen too shot arrows at them, and some brought up round stones, of which there was a great plenty there, and stoned them. And so many of those who had stood in the outermost part of the circles were killed and others stunned, and the rest of the outer men were forced back upon the others, and our knights broke through, carrying destruction everywhere."

This vivid narrative makes the general course of the battle very clear. The reckless charge of Beke's knights, led by Sir Ralf Basset of Drayton, followed in their headlong rush by those of the vanguard led by the Constable and Earl Marshal, made no gap in the impenetrable wood formed by the stubborn spearmen of the Scottish schiltrons. The small force of knights which Wallace had with him was dispersed and his few archers destroyed—that was all.

The trained eyes of the king soon saw the tactical position; he held back his mounted men and ordered the archers from Wales and the West country to the front to break up by flights of arrows the linked Scottish circles, so that the heavily armed, mounted men-at-arms could thrust into their midst. The end soon came; by this combination of horse and foot with missile weapons the Scottish army was destroyed.

The victory thus gained was a forerunner of many to be so won in France and in Scotland even until Flodden's fatal field.

The two plates of seals at the end of this paper illustrate the armour and armorials worn by the bannerets of the English army at Falkirk.^{17a} Some are of a little earlier date than the others. The war helms of Edward I (I, 1), John earl Warenne (I, 5) and Robert fitz Walter (II, 3) are of the flat-topped, cylindrical shape dating about mid-thirteenth century, and except for the king's crown bear no ornament.

^{17a} Plate III shows the armour in more detail.

The war helms of the Earl Marshal (I, 2), Henry Percy (II, 1) (the likeness of his seal to that of Arundel will be noticed), Robert fitz Roger (II, 2), the earl of Arundel (II, 4) and Peter Mauley (II, 5) are of the round-topped, conical shape with a fan-shaped ornament as crest and date later in the same century. The similar helm of Ralf of Monthermer (I, 4) bears the spread eagle of his arms as a crest with a scarf-like lambrequin flying behind; this embryo mantling is also on the helm of Henry Percy (II, 1). They all wear loose linen surcoats, girt around the waist, over armour of chain-mail, mail coifs are worn beneath the great war helms, leather knee-caps protect the knees. The shields are armorial, the earlier ones—Edward, Warenne and Fitz Walter—are of a heavy type, convex to the body which they partly surround. The later seals show smaller shields with straight tops and slightly rounded sides, of the type called *heater*, these are held on the left arm transversely in front of the body.

The horses wear armorial trappers, fitting closely to the head and neck; in the earlier seals these hang stiffly below the horses, the later ones, apparently of softer material, fly loosely behind and beneath them. On these the knights' fan-shaped crest is repeated upon the horses' heads, as is the eagle crest of Monthermer. None of the horses of these knights banneret were valued for the campaign, but it can be assumed that they were *dextrarii*, that is destriers or heavy war horses valued from 60 to 100 marks each and capable of carrying mail-clad knights. The horses of knights bachelor were usually called *equi* in the valuation rolls, and were valued at from 30 to 50 marks. That of Sir William Felton, a knight of the King's Household, was worth 50 marks. The *runcini*—rounceys or nags—ridden by the vallets were lighter horses of much less value, some as low as 5 marks, though the average was somewhat higher.

No sign of horse armour can be seen upon these seals at this date, unless the trappers were padded or had a light

coat of chain mail fixed between an inner and outer armorial covering. It seems that some sort of armour must have been used, as the term "armed horse" often occurs, *e.g.* Richard of Chartney held Hepple by the service of one knight and two armed horses.¹⁸ Morris mentions an entry, in a roll of 1277, for 16s. paid for "linen coverings to put under the mail to prevent it galling the horse."¹⁹ The sword is the only offensive weapon shown on these seals, but the spear or lance was also a knightly weapon, at this date probably the chief one. It was with levelled lances, flying banners and fluttering pennons that the English knights would charge upon the solid Scottish schiltrons, reserving their swords for the closer fighting which followed. There is no seal of bishop Antony Beke showing him in armour as he went forth to war. The great seals of the lords palatine as mounted and armoured knights do not begin until that of Thomas of Hatfield (1345). Beke's episcopal seal here reproduced (1, 3) shows him seated on his throne between Saints Oswald and Cuthbert, clothed in mass vestments, his chasuble, probably red, embroidered with the cross moline of his arms. Above his mitre is a leopard of England; on the dexter a castle denotes his office of constable of London Tower; on the sinister his cross is repeated.

My "great thanks" are due to our member, Mr. L. C. Evetts, for drawing specially for this paper the greater number of the small shields of arms in the text which add so greatly to its interest and usefulness.

¹⁸ NCH, xv, 382.

¹⁹ Morris, p. 53, quoting *Exch. Acc.*, 15.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AA	<i>Archæologia Aeliana</i> . Four series.
BM	British Museum.
CDS	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i> , vol. II, ed. by Jas. Bain.
CR	Calendar of Close Rolls.
DS	<i>Catalogue of Seals in the treasury of the dean and chapter of Durham</i> , AA ³ vols. VII-XVII.
HS	Harleian Society, vols. 80-84.
JH	<i>History of Northumberland</i> by J. Hodgson.
NCH	<i>A History of Northumberland</i> , 15 vols.
NBC	<i>History of Cumberland</i> by Nicolson and Burn.
PR	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
SD	<i>History of Durham</i> by Robert Surtees.
SS	Surtees Society's publications.
Scot. 1298	<i>Scotland in 1298</i> by Henry Gough, 1888.

ROLLS OF ARMS.

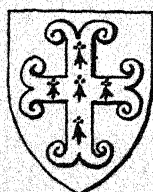
Caer.	<i>Poem of the siege of Caerlaverock</i> , ed. Nicholas.
Falkirk	Published, <i>Scot. 1298</i> , and <i>Reliquary</i> , xvi, 1875.
Glover	Roll Henry III, ed. Armitage, 1868.
St. George	<i>Archæologia</i> , xxxix.
Parl.	Parliamentary Roll, <i>Genealogist</i> , N.S., xi and xii.
Nativity	<i>Reliquary</i> , 1875.
Powells	ed. Greenstreet in <i>Antiq. Magazine</i> .
Jenyns	Walford's <i>Antiquarian</i> .

ABBREVIATIONS IN TEXT.

b.	born.	cr.	created.	m.	married.
bur.	buried.	d.	died.	s.	son.
bro.	brother.	dau.	daughter.	suc.	succeeded.
coh.	coheir.	h.	heir.	sumd.	summoned.
comr.	commissioner.	kt.	knight.	ygr.	younger.

LA 11^e BATAILLE. CEST LA BATAILLE LEVESK DE DURESME.

ANTOYN BEKE.



Porte de gules ov ung fer de molyn dermin
(Falkirk).

He was a younger son of John Beke of Eresby, Lincs., by his wife Eve, niece of Walter Gray archbishop of York. His early preferments were in the diocese of Canterbury :

in 1274 he became archdeacon of Durham, and on 9 Jan. 1284 was consecrated bishop of that lordly diocese; in 1306 pope Clement V created him patriarch of Jerusalem, and in 1307 Edward II made him king of Man; he had also been constable of London Tower since 1274. King, Patriarch, Bishop, Lord Palatine and Constable, he combined in himself the highest offices both religious and temporal. It is therefore not surprising that in his time the power of the bishops of Durham as lords palatine reached the zenith of sovereignty,¹ it was indeed during his episcopate that this power was first called palatine and he himself styled earl palatine (*comes palatii*).² From his early manhood he had been a counsellor and friend of Edward I and is sometimes called his secretary, engaged continuously in the royal service as envoy, ambassador or lieutenant of the king in France, Flanders, Wales and Scotland. The account given of him by Robert of Graystones, the Durham historian,³ tells how he was appreciated by his contemporaries.

This Antony was of lofty disposition: second to none in the kingdom, after the king, in splendour, dress and military power: concerned rather with the business of the kingdom than with the affairs of his bishopric; a strong support to the king in war, and provident in counsel. At one time in the war of Scotland he had 26 bannerets of his household, and one hundred and forty knights commonly in his service; so that he might be believed rather a lay prince than priest or bishop. And although he rejoiced to be thus surrounded by a body of knights, yet he held himself so towards them as if he took no account of them: treating it lightly that earls and the greater barons of the kingdom should bend the knee to him, and that, while he sat, knights like servants should stand a long time in his presence.

The contemporary author of the poem upon *The siege of Caerlaverock* becomes almost lyrical in his praise of Beke.⁴

¹ *County Palatine of Durham*, Lapsley, pp. 42, 99.

² In 1376, Edward III writing to the archbishop of York, says, *episcopus Dunelmensis comes palatinus existat*. SS 9, *Scriptores Tres.*, p. cxliii.

³ SS 9, *Scriptores Tres.*, p. 64. Trans. made for me by Mr. D. B. de Mesquita.

⁴ Ed. Nicholas, p. 53.

the noble bishop of Durham, the most vigilant clerk in the kingdom, a true mirror of Christianity . . . he was wise, eloquent, temperate, just and chaste . . . no man regulated his life better, he was entirely free from pride, covetousness and envy.

He with his knightly retinue joined the king's army at Roxburgh on 25 June 1298, where Walter of Hemingburgh mentions him with the king's earls—*cum comitibus suis et Dunolmensi episcopo*.⁵ He was sent thence with a detachment—including *ille strenuissimus miles* John fitz Marma- duke—to capture Dirleton castle, near North Berwick; a short siege ended in its capture and the bishop rejoined the king. It was he who, with earl Patrick and Gilbert of Umfraville, reported the position of the Scottish army the day before the battle of Falkirk. When Edward marshalled his army for the attack Beke was given command of the second "battle" forming the left wing.⁶ He continued to be employed upon the king's business; being detained upon important negotiations, he was unable to be present at the campaign of 1300 and was not at the siege of Caerlaverock, but he sent his banner with one hundred and sixty men-at-arms.⁷ His later years were embittered by feuds with king, pope and prior, but he died at peace with all on 3 March 1311. He was buried within his cathedral church—the first to be buried within its walls since St. Cuthbert.⁸ The obverse of his episcopal seal shows him seated upon his throne in full mass vestments with jewelled mitre and crosier between Saints Cuthbert and Oswald (plate 1, no. 3). He is the first bishop of Durham to be so represented, possibly imitating the obverse of the royal great seals. He was also the first of the episcopate in England to use armorials on his seals (plate 1, no. 3), in a roundel in the sinister base is the ermine cross moline of his arms—*gules a cross moline ermine*; this is also prominent on the front

⁵ Eng. Hist. Socy., 1849, p. 173.

⁶ See above, p. 69.

⁷ Ed. Nicholas, p. 55.

⁸ SS, *Rites*, pp. 2, 58.

of his chasuble, it is no mere conventional display, for after his death there was found in his *capella* a vestment of red embroidered with a cross called moline.⁹ The castle in the dexter roundel doubtless refers to his office of constable of the Tower of London.

His seal as patriarch of Jerusalem (DS 3126) depicts the Crucifixion and Resurrection with Antony kneeling in prayer beneath, between two crosses patriarchal; in roundels, beyond these, are two crosses moline of his arms.

1. LE COUNTE PATRIK.¹



Porte de gules ov ung leon dargent ov le bordure dargent de roses (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Patrick earl of Dunbar, styled after March 1290, earl of March, that is of the Scottish March; had livery of his lands 14 May 1290. He m. Margery dau. of Alex. Comyn, earl of Buchan, held lands at Shipley and Beanley in Northumberland, d. 10 Oct. 1308. He was at the siege of Caerlaverock, with his son, in 1300, in that poem² he is styled *Conte de Laonis*, that is earl of Lothian, and bore a banner

*Rouge ou une blanc lyoun conois
E blanche en estoit le ouerloure
O Roses del emchampeure.*

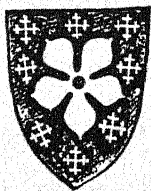
Early armorial seals of the earls bear only a lion rampant blasoned in Walford's roll of Henry III date, *gules un leon rampant d'argent*. The border of red roses first appears on the seal of this man's father to a deed of A.D. 1261. It is possible that the roses are *fraises* and refer to the marriage, in 1242, of Cecil dau. and h. of John Fraser, with earl Patrick. (CP, NCH VII, HS, DS.)

⁹ SS, 2, p. 13, "*cum una cruce de armis ejusdem intextis quae dicuntur ferrum molendini.*"

¹ For full account of him see CP iv, 506.

² Ed. Nicholas, p. 34.

2. LE COUNTE DANGOS.



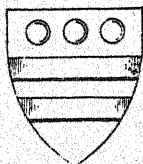
De gulez ov ung quintfoil d'or croisile d'or (Falkirk).

Gilbert of Umfraville (II) earl of Angus, s. and h. of Gilbert I by his wife Maud dau. and h. of Malcolm earl of Angus; b. 1245, of age 1266, m. Elizabeth dau. of Alex.

Comyn, earl of Buchan, served for 2½ kts.' fees in Northumberland against Welsh in 1267, in 1283

held ten towns in Northumberland and two kts.' fees late of John of Vesci, sumd. frequently between 1267 and 1303 for service against Welsh, Scots and in Gascony; d. 1307 holding Prudhoe castle, 2½ kts.' fees in Northumberland, Redesdale liberty and lands as 2 fees. Robert was his s. and h. His seal of c. 1290 bears the same charges upon the shield. For the twenty-one knights and vallets serving in his retinue see *post*, p. 102. (NCH XII, JH II, i, HS, SND.)

3. SIR JOHN DE WAKE.

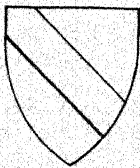


Dor ov ij fesses de gulez ov iij tortous do en le chief (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Baldwin Wake of Liddell, Cumberland; suc. his father and did homage 1290, m. Joan dau. of Sir John Fitz Barnard, sumd. to serve in Gascony

1294 and against Scots 1293-98, sumd. to parliament 1295-1300, held lands in Cumb., Lincs. and Yorks., d. April 1300 holding Liddell castle and manor. Ten knights and vallets in his company had letters of protection. (CP, HS, CR, PR, etc.)

4. SIR PERES DE MAULEY.



Dor ov ung bende de sable (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Peter Mauley lord of Mulgrave, b. 1249, did homage for his father's lands 1290, m. c. 1273 Nichole dau. and coh. of Sir Gilbert Gaunt; sumd. to serve for 2 kts.' fees from 1277 to 1300 against

Welsh, Scots and in Gascony, sumd. to parl. 1295-1308, sealed barons' letter³ to pope 1300, d. Sept. 1308. Five vallets had protection serving in his company. (Seal plate II, nos. 5 and 7.) (CP, HS, PR.)

5. SIR PERES CORBETT.



Dor ov deux corbins de sable (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Thos. Corbet of Caus castle, Salop, livery of his lands 1274, served against Welsh 1283-93 and against Scots 1297-1300, sumd. to parl. 1295-99, m. Joan dau. of Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore, d. 1300 holding Caus and manors in Salop as 5 kts.' fees. (CP, HS, PR, CDS.)

6. SIR ALEXANDER DE BAYLOYLF.



Dargent ov ung faux eschue de gules (Falkirk).

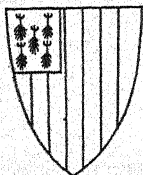
S. and h. of Sir Henry Baliol of Cavers, Roxburgh, suc. c. 1272, m. c. 1270 Isabel d. and coh. of Fulbert of Dover, sumd. to serve against Welsh and acknowledged 2 kts.' fees for barony of Chilham, Kent, in right of his wife, sumd. against Scots 1291-1300, in 1297 in Flanders with bishop Beke, chamberlain of Scotland 1292, sumd. to parliament 1300-7, fined with loss of all his lands for loss of peel at Selkirk which he had undertaken to defend, restored 1305, d. c. 1311. (CP, HS, Scot. 1298.) At Caerlaverock⁴ where he bore a banner which differed from above blason—

*Jaune baniere avoit el champ
al rouge escu voidie du champ.*

³ *Ancestor*, VII, 250.

⁴ Ed. Nicholas, p. 58.

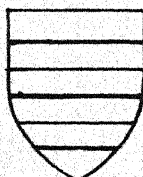
7. SIR RAUFF' BASSET.



Porte palle dor et de gulez ov le cantell dermyn (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Ralph B. of Drayton, Staffs., and Colston Bassett, Notts., suc. his father Aug. 1265, served against Welsh with the earl of Surrey 1287 and against Scots 1297-98. He rode a dun warhorse (*dextrarius*) worth 50 marks.⁵ (HS, CP, PR.)

8. SIR BRYAN LE FITZ ALEYN.



Porte barree dor et de gulez (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Alan fitz Bryan of Bedale and other manors held of the honour of Richmond and also manors in Lincs., he was on military service almost continuously between 1277-1302 against the Welsh and the Scots, guardian of Scotland 1291 and 1297, constable of Roxburgh 1292, captain for defence of Northumberland and keeper of the Scottish March 1297, sumd. to parliament 1295-1305, d. 1306. His banner at Caerlaverock⁶ was

O baniere barree

De or et de goulez bien paree.

He used a non-armorial device on his seal to the barons' letter to the pope.⁷ Six vallets serving with him had protection, his effigy is in Bedale church. (CP, HS, PR.)

9. SIR WILLIAM BREUSE.



Dasur a un leon rampant dor crusule dor od la cuee forchee (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Wm. B. lord of Bramber and Gower; suc. to his father's lands 1291, served against Welsh 1282 and 1288, sumd. to Scotland with horses and arms 1294-1323, ordered 8 April 1298 to raise

⁵ Scot. 1298, p. 224.

⁶ Ed. Nicholas, p. 36.

⁷ *Ancestor*, VII, 255.

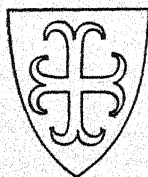
300 foot from Gower and lead them to Carlisle. Sumd. to parliament 1299-1322, d. c. 1326, sealed barons' letter to pope.⁸ (CP, HS, PR.)

10. SIR WILLIAM DE ROS.



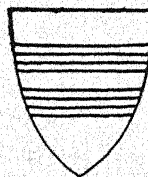
De gules ove iij bousses dargent (Falkirk). S. and h. of Sir Robert R. of Hamlake and Belvoir, suc. his father 1285, served against Welsh 1277 and 1282, against the Scots 1291-1316, sumd. to parliament 1295-1314, in 1280 was a kt. of Sir John Vesci, claimant to Scot's throne 1292, lieutenant in Scotland 1308, Wark on Tweed castle restored to him 1300, ordered to defend the Borders and remain there 1315, d. Aug. 1316. Four vallets serving with him had protection for 1298 campaign. His banner at Caerlaverock⁹—*rouge a trois bouz blans*. His seal on the barons' letter¹⁰ bore the same charges. (HS, CR, PR, CP.)

11. SIR WILLIAM DAF LE FIZ SAMPSON.



De sable ov ung ferr de moulyn dor (Falkirk). His parentage is unknown; in 1281 he and his three brothers were fined for trespass in Sherwood Forest, pardoned 1283, having £20 in lands in Notts. and Derby to serve against Scots 1297, to serve as baron 1299, sumd. to parliament 1300-6, d. 1310. (HS, PR, CR, CP.)

12. SIR WAUTIER HUNTYCOUNP.



Dermine ov ij gemeus de gules (Falkirk). S. and h. of Sir Wm. Huntercombe by his wife Isabel dau. and coh. of Sir Robert Muscamp lord of Wooler, had livery of his inheritance 1271, free warren in his lands in Northumberland 1289, keeper of

⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 248.

⁹ Ed. Nicholas, p. 20.

¹⁰ *Ancestor*, VII, 250.

Northumberland 1271, of Isle of Man 1290, served almost continuously in the Welsh and Scottish wars 1276-1310, sumd. to parliament 1295-1309, sheriff of Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Haddington 1296-98, command of all the men of Northumberland 1298, keeper of Scottish March in Northumberland 1302, m. 1262, Alice dau. and coh. of Sir Hugh Bolbec, d. s.p. 1313 holding manors and lands in Oxon and Northumberland. In a petition of 1307, paying for a remission of his scutage, he states, amongst many other services, that he was at *La Vaire Chapelle* (Falkirk) in the retinue of the bishop of Durham with thirty horse. His banner at Caerlaverock bore *de ermine o deus rouges jumeaus*.¹¹ His armorial seal on the barons' letter bore the same charges.¹² (CP, HS, NCH XI, CDS, PR.)

13. SIR JOHN FITZ MARMADUKE THWENGE.



Dargent ov ung fesse de gulez et troys papejoys de vert (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Marmaduke fitz Geoffrey lord of Horden, Durham, serjeant of bishop of Durham 1282, who called him *nostre tres cher bachelier Mon Jehan le fits Marmaduk*. Served in Scotland, 1298-1312, at battle of Stirling Bridge (see above, p. 70n.), d. at St. John's Town (Perth) of which he was governor 1312.¹³ He is named three times in the Poem of Caerlaverock, his banner bore—*la fesse et li trois papegai . . . blanc en rouge*. He came to the siege "with a great and full troop of good and select bachelors" and "his banner received many stains and many a rent difficult to mend."¹⁴ His armorial seal is attached to the barons' letter.¹⁵ (CP, HS, CDS, SD.)

¹¹ Ed. Nicholas, pp. 36, 225.

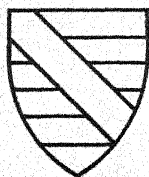
¹² *Ancestor*, VII, 255.

¹³ SD I, p. 24.

¹⁴ Ed. Nicholas, pp. 56, 68, 70.

¹⁵ *Ancestor*, VII, 107.

14. SIR JOHN GRAY.



Barre dargent et dazure ov le baston de gules (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Robert Gray of Rotherfield, whom he suc. 1295, sumd. for service 1298-99, m. Margaret dau. of Sir Wm. Odingseles, d. 1311. He was at Caer-

laverock when the baston was engrailed.

*Dargent et de asur entaillie
O bende rouge engreellie.*¹⁶

(CP, HS, CDS.)

15. SIR JOHN CANTELOU (Cantilupe).

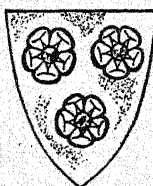


Dazure ov troys floures de lyz dor cressauntz hors de la test du lupards dor (Falkirk).

Kt. of Snitterfield, Warks., sumd. against Scots 1296 and at intervals to 1303, comr. and keeper of the peace in Wark 1308-12, justice there 1311, d. c. 1317. He does

not appear to have been sumd. to parliament as baron, but he was sumd. as a baron against Scots in 1299. Two vallets in his company had protection. His contemporary Sir Willm. Cantilupe sumd. as a baron to parliament 1300 bore the same shield with a fess vair between the fleurs-de-lis (Caer. Falkirk). (HS, CDS, PR.)

16. SIR PHILLIPPE DE ARCY.



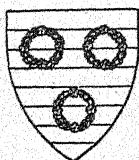
Dargent ov iii cruselettez de gules (roses) (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Norman D'Arcy of Nocton, suc. to his lands 1296, in king's service in Scotland 1291, sumd. for military service from 1297-1327, keeper of Durham castle 1301, sumd. to councils from 1324-28 and to parliament 1299-1332, he and his son joined Thomas of Lancaster, fought at Borough-

¹⁶ Nicholas, p. 40.

bridge (1322), taken prisoners there, released and pardoned for rebellion 16 Aug. 1322, d. 1333. (HS, CDS, CP, PR.)

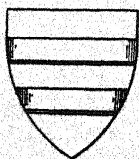
17. SIR RAUFFE LE FITZ WILLIAM.



Borel dargent et dazure ov iii chapeus de gulez (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Wm. fitz Ralph of Grimthorpe by his wife Joan dau. of Sir Thos. fitz William of Greystoke. Did homage for his lands 1296, enfeoffed in 1297 of the manor and barony of Greystoke and of Morpeth, Ulgham and other manors in Northumberland and Durham. Keeper of Scottish March and captain in Northumberland 1297, constable of Scarborough 1297-1301, sumd. for military service 1282-1315, four vallets had protection serving with him in 1298. Sumd. to councils 1287-97, to parliament 1295-1315, served under Aymer de Valence and John earl of Richmond, captain and keeper of Newcastle and all Northumberland 1315, of Carlisle and Cumb. in same year, d. 11 Feb. 1317. At Caerlaverock his banner was different from that of Valence, for instead of martlets it bore—*trois chapeaus de roses vermeilles*. His seal on the barons' letter bore the same charges. (CP, HS, CDS, JH II, ii, PR.)

18. SIR ROBERT DE HYLTON.



Dargent ov ii barres dazure (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Alex. Hilton of Hilton, Durham, a minor at his father's death, held 2 kts.' fees of the barony of Vesci at Guyzauc, Shilbottle and Rennington, Northumberland, free warren there and at Hilton and in Swine and Winestead, Yorks. 1256, was at Lewes on the barons' side with John of Vesci, pardoned 1271, served in Wales in 1282 and in Scotland 1296-1303, sumd. to parliament 1295-96, m. c. 1255

Joan dau. and coh. of Wm. le Breton of Essex, d. c. 1310. (CP, HS, NCH, SD.)

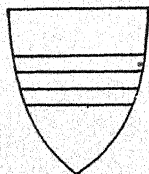
19. SIR JOHN PAYNELL.



Vert od la maunche dor (Falkirk).

Ygr. son of Sir Wm. Paynell kt., he was lord of Otley, Suffolk, sumd. to parliament 1299-1306, served in Gascony 1287, in Wales with John of Hastings 1287, in Ireland 1292-94 and in Scotland from 1298 onwards. In 1302 in Gascony with Sir John Hastings the king's lieutenant there, supported Thomas of Lancaster against Gaveston, d. s.p.m. 1319. He was with John and Edmund Hastings at Caerlaverock where his banner was—*verde trainte . . . de or fin la manche painte*; differenced in colour from that of Hastings. The John Paynell who sealed the barons' letter to the pope used a quite different armorial seal and is presumably another man. (CP, HS, CDS.)

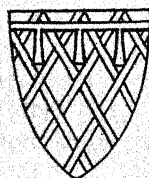
20. SIR WILLIAM MARTYN.



Dargent ov ii barres de gulez (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Nicholas Martin of Kemeys; livery of his lands 1282, sumd. for service in Wales 1282-95, in Gascony 1295-97. Four vallets had protection serving in his company, in 1298. Sumd. to parliament 1295-1304, keeper of the peace and comr. in Devon 1318, in Feb. 1322 ordered to lead his forces to Doncaster to resist Thos, earl of Lancaster, d. Oct. 1324. (CP, HS, CDS, PR.)

21. SIR THEOBOLD DE VERDOUN.

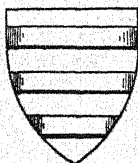


Dor frette de gulez ov lambel dazure (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir Theobold v, livery of his lands 1310-15, governor of Ireland 1314-15, in 1310 offers service for 3½ kts.' fees for his English lands, sumd. to serve for

his father 1297 and against Scots 1298 and at intervals to 1316, m. c. 1299 Maud sister of Roger earl of March and secondly in 1315 Elizabeth widow of John de Burgh, d. 1316. (CP, HS, CDS.)

22. SIR THOMAS DE MOLTON.

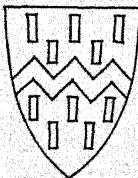


Barre dargent et de goules (Falkirk).

S. of Thomas M. and grandson and h. of Thomas M., b. 1276, livery of his lands 1296, served almost continuously in Scotland and on the Border 1297-1315; 1305 in Ireland with a large retinue; in Scotland

April 1306 he received pay for himself, three esquires, Ralph le Mareschal, John le Tailleur and Thomas of Coupland, two footmen and an esquire with a barbed horse, whilst on a raid in Glen Trool against Sir Robert Bruce; sumd. to parliament 1298-c.1309 as baron of Egremont, at coronation of Edward II, joined Thomas earl of Lancaster at Pontefract May 1321, but died before the battle of Boroughbridge 8 Feb. 1322, m. 1297 Eleanor dau. of Richard earl of Ulster. At Caerlaverock¹⁷ his banner was—*de argent ove treis barres de goules*. His equestrian seal to the barons' letter¹⁸ bore the same changes. (CP, HS, CDS, JH, PR.)

23. SIR EDMUND DANCOURTE.



Dazure a un Daunce dor Billetee dor (Falkirk).

S. and h. of Sir John Deincourt of Blankney, etc., Lincs., by his wife Agnes dau. of Sir Geoffrey Neville of Raby. As a minor he did homage for his father's lands 8 Jan. 1268, sumd. against Welsh for 2 kts.' fees to be served by four serjeants 1277 and 1282, served in Scotland 1291-1325, sumd. to parliament 1298-1326, m. Isabel dau. of Sir Reynold Mohun. He could not be

¹⁷ Nicholas, p. 9.

¹⁸ *Ancestor*, VII, 252.

present at Caerlaverock,¹⁹ but sent his two brave sons (*bons fils*) in his place and with them his banner

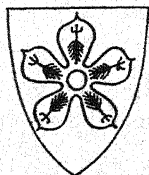
*De inde coulour de or billetee,
O un dance surgette.*

He sealed the baron's letter as lord of Thurgaston with the same arms.²⁰ (CP, HS, CDS.)

24. SIR ANDREW DE ESTELEY.

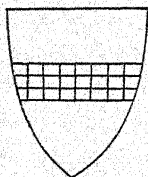


Dargent ov ung leon raumpant de gulez et en les espaules du lyon ung quintfoil dargent (Falkirk).



S. and h. of Sir Thomas Astley who was killed at Evesham in 1265; suc. to his estates, after a fine, 1265, held 8 kts.' fees, sumd. to council at Shrewsbury 1280, to parliament 1295-1300, served against Welsh 1280 and 1294, and in Gascony 1294, against Scots 1296-99, d. 1300. The later arms of the family were *azure a cinquefoil ermine*. (CP, HS.)

25. SIR ALEXANDRE DE LYNDSEY.



Gulez ov ung fess exchekere dargent et dazure (Falkirk).

Probably of Cranford, did homage to Edward 28 Aug. 1296, afterwards joined Wallace, but in 1297 he with Robert Bruce and James the Steward confess their rebellion and place themselves at the king's mercy; dwelling in England 1297, protection going to Scotland with the king 1299, in 1305 ordered not to return to Scotland for six months; Sept. 1306 taken prisoner by English in Kildrummy castle and died shortly thereafter. (CDS, HS.)

¹⁹ Nicholes, vi, 56.

²⁰ *Ancestor*, vii, 253.

26. PATRIKE DE DUNEBARRE.²¹

Les armes le Counte Patrike od le lambel dasur (Falkirk).

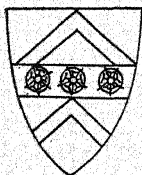
S. and h. of Patrick IV (see *ante*, no. 1), aged 24, when he suc. his father 1309, m. first Ermingarde, in 1304 he received a cask of wine for her, being pregnant; m. secondly c. 1324 Agnes dau. of Sir Thos. Randolph, earl of Moray, he received Edward II at Dunbar castle after his defeat at Bannockburn 1314, fought at Halidon Hill 1333 and was governor of Berwick when it surrendered to Edward III, joined the English side, fought against Scots at Neville's Cross 1346, in 1360 is described as a rebel and his lands forfeited; both his sons being dead he resigned his earldom to the crown and died 11 Nov. 1368. He was with his father at Caerlaverock and bore the same banner—*fors de une label de azure*.²² (NCH VII, CP, HS, CR.)

Fifty-six knights and esquires serving with these twenty-six bannerets had protection whilst absent on the campaign.²³

RETINUE OF ANTONY BEKE.

Nineteen knights, five esquires and three clerks had letters of protection dated from 12 June to 18 July 1298 in the following (*obsequiam*) of Antony, bishop of Durham.

1. BALDEWYNUS DE INSULA.



De or a une fesse a ii cheverons de sable en la fesse iii roses de argent (Parl.).

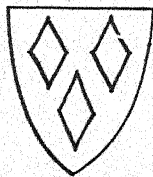
Kt., s. and h. of Geoffrey del Isle, livery of his lands 2 Dec. 1293, sumd. from Hants. against Scots in 1298, styled clerk and kt. in 1300, d. 21 Aug. 1307, holding 2½ kts.' fees in the Isle of Wight. (HS, PR.)

²¹ Not in Harleian MS. 6589, but appears in another copy and makes up the 26 bannerets, the total given at the end of the second *battle*.

²² Nicholas, p. 34.

²³ Scot. 1298, pp. 12-51.

2. ROGERUS PYCHARDE.



Argent three lozenges sable (St. George). Kt., served in Wales 1277, had his scutage in Worcs. and Heref. 1285, to raise 50 men from his lordship of Stradewy 13 July 1287, confirmed settlement of his lands upon his s. John 1294. (HS.)

3. JOHANNES DE ROS DE HOLL.



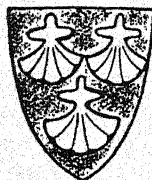
Gules three water bougets or (Powells). Kt. of Ringburgh in Holderness, sumd. against Scots again in 1300, d. 1319, Richard was his s. and h. (HS, PR.)

4. ROBERTUS DE NONEWYKE, junior.



Sable an eagle displayed or (Jenyns). Nunwick near Ripon, Yorks., kt. as "junior" he held $\frac{1}{2}$ kt.'s fee at Kettlesmere, in 1324 he was sumd. as a kt. to council at Westminster. (HS.)

5. WILLELMUS DE DACRE.



Gules three escallops argent (Powells). Kt. s. and h. of Ranulph Dacre, suc. to his lands in Cumb., West. and Lancs. 1297, to raise 3,000 foot and to serve under Robert Clifford against Scots 1297, had grant of free warren at Dacre and Halton 1303, licensed to crenellate his house at Dunmalleght 1317, keeper of Carlisle 1318, d. August 1318 holding Dacre of the lords of Greystoke. (HS, HC, JH.)

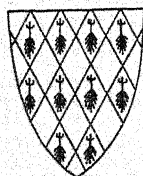
6. ROBERTUS DE WYLGHBY.



Or de inde frette (Caer.).

Kt., s. and h. of Willm. W. by his wife Alice dau. and h. of John Beke of Eresby, sumd. against Scots for a fee in Lincs. under Gilbert of Gaunt 1298, sumd. at intervals to 1314, of kin and h. of Antony Beke, and his executor in 1315, d. 1316. After the bishop's death he adopted the arms of Beke—*gules a mill-rind cross argent*. HS, CP, PR.)

7. RICARDUS DE ROKESLE.



Masle de goules et de ermine (Caer.).

Kt., held 5 kts.' fees in Norfolk, sumd. against Scots 1296 and at intervals to 1306, justice Norfolk 1304, held 4 kts.' fees in Norfolk and Suffolk of Roger earl of Norfolk, going overseas for the king 1313, and to Scotland 1322. He was in the company of Sir Robert Tony at Caerlaverock.

8. MAGISTER JOHANNES DE ROMA, *persona* (rector) *ecclesie de Barton*.

9. PETRUS DE PERCY.



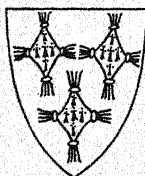
Or a fess engrailed sable (St. George). With difference.

Ygr. s. of Robert Percy who d. 1323 leaving Eustacia dau. and h. of Peter his h. Peter held Wharrum Percy, Ilkley, Bolton Percy and Sutton on Derwent, m. Isabel dau. and h. of Willm. Erghum, d. before Oct. 1315. (HS, PR, CR.)

10. SIMON DE KYRKETON DE HOYLANDE.

A kt. of Lincs. who served against Scots 1296-1301.

11. WILLELMUS DE PAXHULLE.
Nothing has been found about him.
12. HENRICUS DE HARECOURT.
Possibly of Stanton Harecourt, Oxon, but not traced.
13. RICARDUS DE OVERTON *persona* (rector) *ecclesie de Over-*
ton.
14. RANULPHUS SWETINGE DE BOTTELEYE.
Nothing found about him.
15. JOHANNE LE FAUCONER.
Letter of protection going with the bishop 10 May 1298.
Nothing more found.
16. ARCHIBALDUS LE BRETON.
Nothing found except that he had protection going to
Scotland with the bishop 12 June 1298.
17. JOHNNES DE WOKINGHAM, clericus.
Had similar letter of same date.
18. HUGH DE SUTHKIRKEBY.
Had similar letter of same date.
19. MATTHEWS DE REDEMAN.



De goulys a iii horilers de ermine.

Kt., s. and h. of Henry R., held lands in Westmorland 1282, pd. sub. Lancs. 1294, M.P. Lancs. 1295, served against Scots 1297 and at intervals to 1308, had protection serving on Scots Marches with Robert Clifford 1299, to lead 2,000 foot from Lancs. against Scots 1300, to raise 300 foot in Westmorland to pursue Robt. Bruce "who is lurking in the moors and marshes of Scotland," 1307, M.P. Lancs. 1307 and 1314, had pardon *re* Gaveston 1313, sheriff of Dumfries 1304, d. c. 1319. (HS, CDS, N&B, PR.)

20. SIMON DE LEYBOURNE.



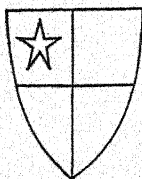
De Azure a vi lioncels de argent od la bordure endente de or (Parl.).

Kt., had licence to m. Lucy widow of Guy St. Arnaud 1295, sumd. against Scots for lands in Notts. and Derbys. 1297 and in 1303, d. 1308. (HS, CDS.)

21. ROBERTUS DE TOTHALE.

Arms are not known. Kt., held $\frac{1}{2}$ kt.'s fee in Hunts. of Robert Bruce and one fee in Bucks. of Guy earl of Warwick, M.P. Bucks. 1313, blind and unfit for service 1324. (HS.)

22. RICARDUS DE PERERS.



Quartile de argent e de sable a un molet de goules (Parl.).

Kt. of Lincs. 1290, M.P. Leics. 1307, Herts. 1316-24, had pardon *re* Gaveston 1313, sheriff of Herts. and Sussex 1315, protection going to Scotland 1321, to array all fencible men in Herts. from 16-60, and lead them to Harwich for Gascony 1325, d. 1335. (HS, PR, CR.)

23. ANDREA DE ELLE.

Nothing found about him.

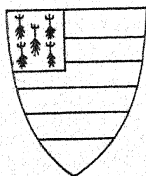
24. JOHANNES DE SETON.



Gules a bend argent between six martlets or (Powells).

Kt., holding lands in Northants. and Oxon is sumd. against Scots 1296 and 1301, M.P. Rutland 1302-5, with Sir John Segrave in Scotland in 1303 upon the king's service, d. c. 1327. (HS, PR.)

25. PETRUS DE GOUSHILL.



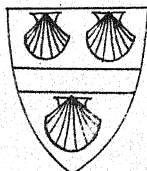
Barry or and Gules a canton ermine (Will.).

A Walter of Goushill served as kt. throughout Edward's Scots wars, but I have not found Peter.

26. NICHOLAS DE ESTLEYE.

Kt., s. and h. of Sir Andrew Astley (*ante* p. 91), aged 24 in 1300, had livery of his father's lands 1301, sumd. to parliament 1302-9, taken prisoner at Bannockburn and d. soon thereafter. (HS, PR, CR.)

27. MILS PYCHARD.



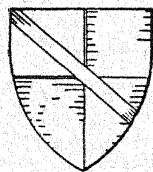
Gules a fess between three escallops argent (Jenyns).

Kt., held $\frac{1}{2}$ a fee in Worc. 1287, served in Wales in that year with Sir Ralph Tony, served overseas 1297, comr. of array Heref. 1301 and 1311, in Scotland 1302, pardoned for offences because of his long service, M.P. Hereford 1302 and 1307, in Scotland with the king 1303, served for Sir Roger Mortimer 1310, had protection going to Ireland 1316, living 1322. (HS, PR.)

RETINUE OF SIR ROBERT FITZ ROGER.

Eight knights and four esquires had protection whilst serving with him between Jan. and June 1298.

SIR ROBERT FITZ ROGER.

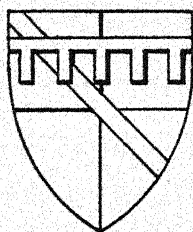


Quartelle dor et de gules ou ung baston de sable (Falkirk).

Kt. banneret, s. and h. of Roger fitz John, b. 1247, served against Welsh 1277, acknowledged 8 kts.' fees 1282, served in Scot. 1291-99, sumd. to parliament 1295-1309, lord of

Clavering in Essex and many manors in Northumberland, Norfolk, Herts. and Northants., in 1297 received thanks from the king and was licenced to enfeof his sons Roger and Alan of Clavering in Callaley manor; it appears that by 1298 all his sons had adopted the surname of Clavering; he and his sons Roger and Alan had protection 1299 going to the defence of the Scottish March, lieutenant of king at Berwick 1300, raised 1,000 men in Northumberland for service in Scotland 1303, thanked for guarding Marches against Bruce 1303, at coronation of Edward II, m. Margery de la Zouche. He fought with the vanguard at Falkirk under Henry Lacy with the Constable and Marshal, and was present at the siege of Caerlaverock with a banner of his arms which his son John differenced by a label vert. In 1306 he had protection "with a potent force of men at arms" from Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland whilst on service for the king in Scotland. d. 1310. (Seal, plate I, no. 2.) (NCH VII, HS, CP, PR, CDS.)

1. JOHANNES DE CLAVERINGE.

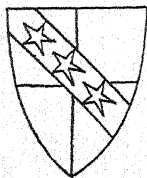


Quarterly or and gules a bend sable and a label vert (Caer.).

Kt., eldest son of above Robert styled of Costessey, Norfolk, b. 1266, m. 1278, Hawise dau. of Sir Robert Tibetot, suc. his father and did homage 29 Mar. 1310, served in Scot. 1291, overseas 1297, defended Scots

March with his father 1299, ambushed by Scots in Galloway 1 Mar. 1300, sumd. to parliament 1299-1307, d. at Aynhoe, Northants., 23 Jan. 1322 when Warkworth and his lands in Northumberland passed by grant of the king to Henry lord Percy. (NCH VII, HS, CDS, PR.)

2. ALEXANDER DE CLAVERINGE.



Quartile de or e de goules a une bende de sable a iii moles de argent (Parl.).

Second son of Sir Robert fitz Roger, b. c. 1268, exempted from service in Gascony 1294, had grant of a fair at his manor of Lyng, Norfolk, 1295; protection with his father defending Scots Marches 1299, served against Scots 1300, wife was named Joan, served with his father and a strong force of foot in Scotland 1306, constable of Norwich castle and sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk 1312 and 1316. (NCH VII, HS, CDS, PR.)

3. PHILLIPUS DE ILLEY.



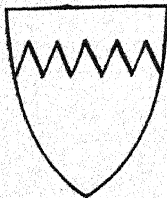
Goules a un egle de or e un baston de azure (Parl.).

Kt. of Lincs., had his debts respited and went with Sir Robert Fitz Roger to defend the Scottish Marches 12 March 1299. (HS, PR.)

4. WILLELMUS DE SENGHAM.

Nothing has been found about him.

5. EDMUNDUS DE HEMGRAVE.



Argent od le chief endente de goules (Parl.).

Kt., s. and h. of Thomas H. who held 2 kts.' fees in Norfolk and Suffolk, aged 10 at his father's death at Lewes 1264, had protection going overseas 1273, served against Welsh 1282, served against Scots 1297 and at intervals to 1314, justice in Suffolk and Norfolk 1320, ordered to guard coast of East Anglia 1324, d. 1334, holding lands in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambs. (HS, CDS, PR.)

6. GILBERT DE WAUTON.



Argent a un cheveron de sable (Parl.).

Probably the father of John W. who in 1332 held the manor of Brotherwick, in Warkworth, by grant from John of Clavering; Gilbert s. and h. of John W. did homage for this manor, held in chief by serjeanty; the family held lands in Bucks. and other southern counties. (NCH VII.)

7. HUGH GOBION.



Burrele de argent e de goul a un label de azure (Parl.).

Kt., s. and h. of John G. of Shilvington, Northumberland, exempted from Gascony service 1294, sheriff of Northumberland 1292-96, served overseas 1297 to guard Scots Marches with Sir Robert 1299, M.P. Northumberland 1302, lord of Tudhoe, Durham, d. 1317. (NCH, HS, PR, CDS.)

8. ROGERUS CORBET.

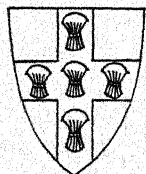


Or three corbies sable (Jenyns).

Kt., s. and h. of Walter Corbet of Stanton, Northumberland, suc. his father c. 1293, raised levies in Northumberland 1298, M.P. Northumberland 1306, held manor of Faringdun in Roxburghs. 1304. (JH.

HS, PR.)

9. JOHANNES DE SWYNBURN.



Argent on a cross gules five garbs or (Glover).

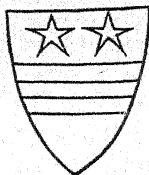
Kt., s. and h. of Richard S. of E. Swynburne, sheriff of Cumb. 1277, granted free warren in Bewcastle and Swynburne 1279, comr. of array Northumberland 1292 and 1298, to raise 3,000 foot against Scots 1298, conservator

of peace 1307, ordered with his sons Adam and Robert to defend his demesnes against Scots 1309, d. before 1313. (NCH IV, HS, JH, CDS.)

10. JOHANNES DE BYTHRINGE.

Nothing found about him.

11. JOHANNES DE YELAUNDE.



. . . two bars . . . and in chief two molets . . . (seal).

Kt., bro. and h. of Richard Y., had livery of his lands 1290, held lands and manors at West Matfen, Nafferton, etc., Northumberland as $\frac{1}{4}$ kt.'s fee; Aug. 1298 had protection staying in Scotland with the bishop of Durham, pardoned *re* Gaveston 1313.

12. SIR WILLIAM RYDELL.



Goul a un lion de argent od la bordure endente de argent (Parl.).

Kt., probably s. and h. of Sir Jordan R. who held Tillmouth for $\frac{1}{2}$ kt.'s fee of the bishop of Durham, in 1306 Sir Wm. was with Sir Robert with a strong force of foot against king's rebels in Scotland, fought at Boroughbridge on king's side 1322; taken prisoner in Scotland and exchanged for Sir Andrew Moray 1301, paid for his services at Roxburgh castle 1305, d. 1325. (RND, HS, CDS.)

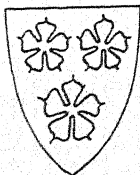
RETINUE OF SIR GILBERT OF UMFRAVILLE, EARL OF ANGUS.

Seven knights and fourteen esquires and vallets had protection serving with him, 28th May 1298.

GILBERT OF UMFRAVILLE, EARL OF ANGUS.

In the "battle" of Antony Beke bishop of Durham, see *ante*, p. 82.

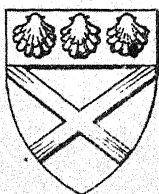
1. THOMAS DE CLENHILLE.



Or three cinquefoils sable.

Kt., s. and h. of Thomas C. who in 1270 witnessed as kt. a charter of Newminster, Thomas second had grant of free warren in Clennell and Hollesden 1292, received pay for his services in Scotland 1289-90, ordered with Richard of Horsley to raise 1,300 foot in Northumberland and lead them in person against the Scots 1301, in 1305 settled the manor of Clennell upon his s. Thomas, the manor in 1325 was held by his son and himself at $\frac{1}{2}$ kt.'s fee. (NCH xv, CDS, HS.)

2. LUCAS TALLEBOIS.



Argent a saltire gules on a chief gules three escallops argent (Will.).

Kt., s. and h. of Robert T., suc. his father 1281, aged 23, acknowledged 1 kt.'s fee and will serve with two serjeants 1282, overlord of Hepple, justice in Northumberland 1300, sumd. to council at York 1300, sheriff of Northumberland 1304-5, justice of gaol delivery in Northumberland and Yorks. 1305, collector of subsidies 1297 and 1301, d. 1316. (NCH xv, CDS, HS, PR.)

3. ROBERTUS DE GLENTINGDON.

Arms are unknown. Kt., s. and h. of John of Glanton, aged 21 in 1266, distrained for knighthood 1278, held half manor of Glanton 1292, and one-third that of Whittingham, ordered to hold an inquest at Alnwick 19 July 1287, d. 1304 when his son John had livery of his lands. (NCH, HS, CDS.)

4. ROBERTUS DE INSULA DE CHIPCHESSE.

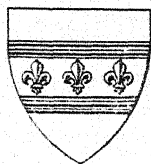


Ermine a lion rampant azure (Glover).
Kt., s. and h. of Robert del Isle by his wife Margery, had livery of his lands before 1269, styled kt. in deeds of 1296 and 1317, paid subsidy of 1296, held two parts of Gosforth, d. c. 1300. (NCH iv and xiii, CDS.)

5. NICHOLAS DE GONNERTON.

Arms unknown. S. and h. of John of Gunnerton, kt., coroner of Northumberland south of Coquet in 1279, Nicholas heads subsidy role of 1296 for lands in Gunnerton, he witnessed a deed of 1310. (NCH iv.)

6. JOHANNES DE NORMANVILLE.



Argent on a fess doubly cotised gules three fleurs de lis argent (Jenyns).

S. and h. of Guy N., granted lands in Ouston 1292, and claimed lands in Ingoe; Thomas Soules leased the manor of Stamfordham to him in 1296. In July 1298 he was a vallet serving under Sir John Bocland, kt., his horse a black nag was valued at 12 marks. (NCH xiii, HS, CDS.)

7. JOHANNES DE WODDRINGTON DE DENTON.



Quarterly argent and gules a bend sable, with difference.

So called to distinguish him from his contemporary Sir John Widdrington of Widdrington. He purchased Denton (in Newburn) in 1293 and paid subsidy of 1296, he was not a kt., granted Denton to Adam Galway and John Denton, d. before 1327. (NCH xii and xiii, JH.)

8. WILLELMUS DE INSULA DE THORNETON.



Ermine a lion rampant azure, with difference.

Thornton in Hartburn, held time of Henry II by Otwell del Isle, for $\frac{1}{2}$ kt.'s fee of the barony of Bolbeck; in time of John (1199-1216) William del Isle was confirmed in his lands of Thornton by Walter of Bolbeck. No later William has been found apart from this reference. (NCH, JH.)

9. ROBERTUS DE BETON. } Nothing has been found about
10. WILLELMUS DE BETON. } these men.

11. JOHANNES STURDY.

The family held lands in Ouston from the early thirteenth century, in 1298 John was witness to a deed dated at Stamfordham, his wife was Petronelle, and his dau. Aline c. 1308 m. John of Rudchester. He was not a kt. and his arms are unknown. (NCH.)

12. ROGERUS DE WALLIA.

Nothing has been found about him.

13. THOMAS DE BYKERTON.

Bickerton in Rothbury, s. and h. of Hugh B., coroner, he witnessed a deed of Sir Richard Chartney, manor of Hepple, 1290, his son Hugh m. Alice dau. of Sir Luke Tailboys lord of Hepple, he paid subsidy of 1296. He was not a kt. and no arms are known for him. (NCH xv.)

14. THOMAS OF TROUGHQUEN.

Troughend in Elsdon, he was probably Thos. Buttycomb of Troughend who owned that place in 1245, and in 1269 held lands in Little Bavington, another Thos. B. occurs in a list of kts. of Northumberland in 1324. No arms are known. (JH.)

15. ADAM DE WERDALE.

Nothing found about him.

16. ANDREAS DE HATREWYCK.

Hatherick in Whelpington parish, near Otterburn in Redesdale. Nothing found about Andrew.

17. THOMAS DE HERLE of Northumberland.



Gules a chevron between three birds argent beaked and legged or.

Harle in Whelpington. In 1304 Thomas gave his lands in Caldwell to Walter Shafto, and in 1260 Robert H. gave £10 for lands in West Harle forfeited by the rebellion of Thomas. He was not a kt. (JH.)

18. HUGO DE INSULA.

Nothing found.

19. THOMAS SON OF THOMAS DE CLENHULLE.

See *ante*, p. 102. In 1301 he was ordered to lead the footmen of Northumberland to Linlithgow, in 1305 was imprisoned in the castle of St. Brevel, lands were settled on him in the same year. (NCH xv, CDS, PR.)

20. THOMAS DE INGOW.

In Stamfordham. He was aged five in 1266, s. and h. of Roger I and his wife Joan, suc. his father before 1300, d. 1313. No arms are known. (NCH xv).

21. THOMAS BRETEYN.

Nothing found.

RETINUE OF SIR HENRY PERCY.

Five knights and two esquires had protection serving with him.

SIR HENRY PERCY.



Dor ov ung leon dazure (Falkirk).

He was in the fourth "bataille" under the command of his maternal grandfather, John of Warenne, earl of Surrey. He was bro. and h. of Sir John Percy whom he suc. c. 1293, ktd. by king at Berwick 27 April 1296, sumd. to serve against Scots 1298, and from then until

his death in 1314 spent his life campaigning in Scotland or defending the Marches; sumd. to parliament 1299-1314, m. Eleanor sister of Sir Richard of Arundel, d. Oct. 1314, bur. Fountains. Seal plate II, no. 1. (CP, HS, PR, etc.)

1. WALTERUS DE REY.

In Dec. 1303 he sold a coat of mail belonging to the earl of Ros for 100s. Probably Ray in Whelpington, no arms known. (CDS.)

2. ROGERUS DE CHEYNY.

Styled of Shropshire, does not seem to have been a kt. On 16th Feb. 1297 the earl of Surrey asked the chancellor for protection for him then with the earl in Scotland, received pay for services in 1298. No arms found for him. (CDS.)

3. PHILIPPUS DE LYNDESEYE.



Or an eagle displayed purple.

Kt. Had protection at the request of Henry Percy 24 June 1297 and again 17 Nov. 1301 as he was then going back to Scotland to remain there with the king, he was still there in 1303, in 1309 he was ordered to defend his demesnes in the Marches, in 1316 he adhered to the rebels and the king took his lands. (CDS, HS.)

4. THOMAS DE SAUNFORDE.

Kt. Letter of protection 16 April 1298. On June 1297 he and others were thanked by the king for "putting down evildoers and retaking castles in their country." Nothing more has been found. (CDS.) No arms are known.

5. ALEXANDER DE MONTE FORTI.



Argent crusule gouples e un lion rampaund de azure (Parl.).

Kt. Sumd. against Scots from 1296 to 1300 for lands in Somerset and Devon. In 1303 he was staying in Scotland with Sir Hugh Bardolph, in 1322 he was there with the king and the earl of Athol, in 1323 ordered to raise 3,000 foot in Lincs. and lead them to Newcastle against the Scots, in 1324 sumd. to council at Westminster. His horse was valued for the campaign at Falkirk at £10, described as a black runcie (nag) he is there described as a vallet of Sir Hugh Bardolph. (HS, CDS, PR.)

6. JOHANNES DE THORNHILL. }
7. WALTERUS DE OREWELL. } Nothing found about them.

SIR WILLIAM FELTON'S RETINUE.

SIR WILLIAM FELTON, kt., banneret of the king's household.



Goules a ii lions passanz de argent e un baston goboune de or a de azure (Parl.).

Particulars of his life are to be found in NCH VII, and XII and in AA⁴ XX, and need not be repeated here except in so far as the Falkirk campaign is concerned. Sir William was one of the chief of Edward's bannerets—a professional soldier engaged continuously in fighting or in preparation for it. In the Scots wars from 1295 to 1316; as constable of Beaumaris Castle he was ordered, 8 April 1298, to levy 500 foot in Anglesey and lead them to the king. Keeper of Linlithgow 1307, received £12 arrears of pay for his service and losses in Scotland. He had thirteen vallets in his retinue and his horse (*equus*), killed at Falkirk, was iron-grey dappled valued at 28 marks. (HS, CDS, NCH, PR.)

1. WILLELMUS DE OTLEY.

A vallet serving with Sir Wm. Felton, his horse was a light iron-grey nag (runcie) valued at 20 marks. Arms unknown.

2. NICHOLAS DE FELTON.

A vallet whose name does not appear in a pedigree of Felton nor elsewhere; his horse was a white nag valued at 20 marks.

3. ROBERTUS DE CLIFFORDE.

Not traced; a vallet whose horse was a black nag valued at only 8 marks.

4. ROBERTUS DE NAFFERTON.

In Ovingham; nothing has been found about him except that he was a vallet and rode a black nag valued at 12 marks.

5. JOHANNES DE CORBRIGGE.

In 1299 John son of John C. granted property in Corbrigge, in 1302 John C. was lessee of town acres in Berwick, and in 1306 he was with Sir Wm. Rue then keeper of Glasgow bishopric. He is called a vallet and his horse at Falkirk was a black nag with white hind feet valued at 16 marks. (NCH VII, CDS.)

6. GERARDUS DE HESELYRGGE.

Nothing has been found about him except that he was a vallet and rode a black nag with a white spot on forehead, valued at 10 marks.

7. JOHN DE WETHERINGTON.

A vallet whose horse at Falkirk was a rough, dapple-grey nag valued at 8 marks.

8. GILBERT DE FELTON.

Not mentioned in any account of the Feltons. He was a vallet, his horse an iron-grey nag valued at 20 marks.

9. HENRICUS DE TEYESDALE of Northumberland.

A vallet whose horse was a dappled iron-grey nag valued at 100 shillings.

10. RICARDUS DE CLIFFORDE.

A vallet whose horse was dark dapple grey worth only 5 marks.

11. THOMAS DE BURTON.

A vallet, horse a dapple grey nag worth 10 marks.

12. JOHANNES DE KIRKEBY.

A vallet, rode a nag with a white star on his forehead, worth 10 marks.

13. THOMAS DE WETEWODE.

In Chatton parish. His name does not occur elsewhere, he was a vallet, his horse was a black nag worth only 8 marks.

KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES AND VALLETS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

1. DNS. ROBERTUS DE FELTON.



Goules a ii lions passanz de ermyne (Parl.). Kt., served with Sir John Botetort, he was a younger brother of Sir William Felton, served in Flanders 1297, Scotland 1298, on the Scottish March with Sir Henry Percy 1306, comr. of array Northumberland

1311, again serving on the Borders 1311, lord of Boddington, Northants., and of Litcham, Norfolk. His horse at Falkirk was a black charger (*equus*) with a white hind foot worth 50 marks. (HS, CDS, NCH, PR.)

2. JOHANNES DE FELTON.



Goules a ii lions passanz de ermyne corones de or (Parl.).

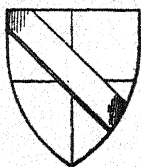
In 1298 a vallet serving with Sir John Botetort, probably son of above Robert. He was ktd. in 1302, keeper of Alnwick Castle 1314, of Bamburgh 1315, constable of Newcastle 1317, in Gascony 1318, in Aquitaine 1324, sumd. to Council 1324, comr. of array in Northumber-

land 1326. His horse at Falkirk was a light grey nag valued at £12. (HS, CDS, PR.)

3. PETRUS LE MARECHAL.

A vallet of Sir John Botetort, in the king's household. His horse was iron-grey dappled worth £10. He is not connected with Northumberland, but it is tempting to conjecture that he is that esquire of the king's household (Ed. II). who died in Newcastle upon Tyne and upon whom a pall of Lucca silk was laid when he was buried in St. Nicholas' church on 18 Sept. 1322. No arms are recorded for him. (Newcastle Proc., 3rd ser., IX, pp. 234-5.)

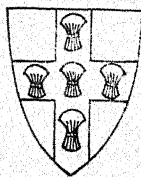
4. ROBERTUS DE CLAVERINGE.



Quarterly or and gules a baston sable (with difference).

Probably he was a younger son of Sir Robert fitz Roger, though he does not appear in accounts of the family. He had protection on 26 May 1298 going with the king to Scotland; he is called companion (*socius*) of Sir Thomas Bikemore, but his dun coloured nag was only worth 10 marks. (Scot. 1298.)

5. SIR ADAM DE SWYNBORN.



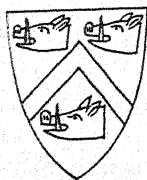
Argent on a cross gules five garbs or.

Lord of East Swynburne and Bewcastle, M.P. Northumberland 1315-17, see further AA⁴ xx, p. 42. He was a knight of the king's household with two vallets serving under him, his horse was black with a white muzzle and three white feet worth 20 marks.

6. EGIDIUS LE FLEMING.

A vallet of Sir Adam Swynburne, he rode a bay nag worth only 8 marks. Nothing more has been found about him.

7. JOHANNES THIRLEWALLE of Northumberland.



Gules a chevron between three boars' heads couped argent (Jenyns).

A vallet of Sir Adam Swinburne, his horse was a rough dapple grey nag with a star in front worth 8 marks. In 1290 he was a juror at Wark-on-Tyne, he took part, as vallet of Sir Adam S., on a barbed horse, in the raid to Glen Trool in search of Sir Robt. Bruce in April 1307. (JH, CDS.)

8. ROBERTUS DE PONTHOPE.

A younger son of Laurence P., in 1292 he held lands in Nafferton of Sir Philip Ulecotes, paid subsidy role of 1296 for that place, in 1298 he was serving for Sir Wm. Halton of Northumberland; his horse being a black nag worth 10 marks. Arms unknown. (NCH x, XII, AA.)

9. PHILIPPUS DE LA LEYE.



Or a fess embattled between six martlets and a border gules.

Grandson of Gilbert de la Leye lord of Beamish and Tanfield, Durham and of Budle and Spindlestone, Northumberland, held of Sir John Vesci at $\frac{1}{2}$ kt.'s fee in 1289, in 1291 he served in Scotland under Sir Walter Huntercombe, on 28th April 1298 he had protection serving in Scotland with Sir Robert Hilton, M.P. Northumberland 1300, d. c. 1328. (NCH 1, CDS, SD.)

10. JOHANNES DE HERLE of Northumberland.

Harle in Whelpington held of the barony of Prudhoe at 1 kt.'s fee of which in 1240 a John H. held half; bailiff of Redesdale in 1294, "he ought to have been a kt.," but was not. In list of kts. of 1324 either he or his son is returned as a kt.; in the Falkirk campaign he rode a black nag worth only 6 marks. Arms *ante*, p. 105. (JH, Scot. 1298.)

11. WALTERUS DE LA VALE.



Ermine two bars vert, with difference.

Probably a younger brother of Sir Hugh Delaval of Seaton D.; he held lands in Newsham and left a s. and h. Robert. In the Falkirk campaign he was serving for Sir Hugh D., his horse was a black nag worth 10 marks. (NCH., HS.)

12. JOHANNES DE HEDLEGH.

He was serving at Falkirk with Sir Hugh Delaval, his horse was an iron-grey nag worth 8 marks. In 1305 receiver of money for munitions at Linlithgow, present with Hugh of Herle and others in garrison there, his horse, a dark bay, was worth 20 marks. (CDS, Scot. 1298.)

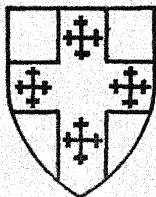
13. ROGERUES DE WETWUDE of Northumberland.

In Chatton, in the campaign he rode a black nag worth 8 marks.

14. ADAM DE DOKESFORD of Northumberland.

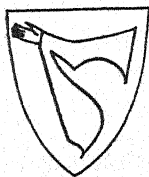
In Ellingham, Adam paid the subsidy role of 1336 and was suc. by his son Richard who held Doxford at $\frac{1}{4}$ of a kt.'s fee. Adam's horse was iron-grey dappled, worth 6 marks. Neither Adam nor Richard were kts. (NCH, Scot, 1298.)

15. JOHANNES DE CAMBHOU.



S. and h. of Walter C., suc. 1298, keeper of Berwick 1298 and serving in Scotland, sheriff of Northumberland 1301, M.P. 1301-05, comr. 1305, justice 1305, on pilgrimage overseas 1310, living 1315. His father's seal shows four crosses-crosslet on a cross, colours unknown.

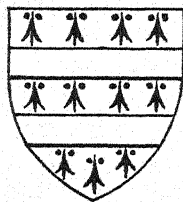
16. DNS. ROBERTUS DE CONIERS.



Or ou la maunche de azure e ove la meyn
(Parl.).

Probably of Hoton Conyers, Yorks., little is known of him, he was a comr. in Yorks. in 1312. He was a knight. His horse for the campaign was dappled grey with a white star on its forehead, it was valued at £12, his vallet was Ralph of Singletin who rode a black nag worth 8 marks. (SD, HS.)

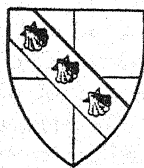
17. ROGERUS MAUDUIT.



Ermine two bars gules (Nativity).

Kt., s. and h. of Roger M. who was distrained for knighthood 1278; he had free warren in his lands of Eshot and Bockenfield 1307, licenced to crenellate Eshot 1310, he held his manors of Robert fitz Roger as of the barony of Whalton, served in Scotland 1298, M.P. Northumberland 1297 and at intervals to 1314, fought at Boroughbridge against the king, pardoned later, served on Scottish Marches 1322, constable of Prudhoe 1325, d. 1325. (NCH, HS, PR, CDS.)

18. JOHANNES DE EVRE.



Quarterly or and gules on a bend sable three escallop silver (Nativity).

Probably Sir John Evers grandson of John fitz Robert of Warkworth, about 20 years of age in 1298 when he served in Scotland with Sir Roger Mauduit, he served in Scotland again 1312-15. See further AA⁴ x, pp. 162-3.

19. RADULFUS DE EVRE.

Nothing found as to his parentage; on 2 January 1298 he was sumd. to be ready with horses and men to go with the king towards Scotland.

20. GALFRIDUS DE HORNCLIFFE of Northumberland.

In Norham. Nothing has been found about Geoffrey except that in the campaign he rode a black nag worth 8 marks.

21. SIR RAUFF DE MONTHERMER.



Dor ov ung egle de vert (Falkirk).

I have included him in Northumbrian kts. at Falkirk because he was, in all probability, grandson of William of Meisnilhermer who *temp.* Henry III held the manor of Tunstal of the barony of Bolam, Northumberland. The name became modified to Mainhermer, Monhermer and thence Monthermer (various forms are given *Northd. Plea Rolls*, Newcastle Record Series, vol. II). He was of the household of Gilbert of Clare earl of Gloucester and Hereford, after whose death Ralf m. c. 1297, his widow Joan of Acre dau. of Edward I, greatly to the king's anger who imprisoned him but became reconciled. He was styled earl of Gloucester and Hereford during his wife's lifetime, after her death in 1307 he was sumd. only as a baron. He was engaged continuously from 1297 in the wars and councils of Edward. In the campaign of Falkirk he was in the fourth *battle* with a large retinue. He was present at Caerlaverock, in the poem of that siege it is said (ed. Nicholas) that "he acquired after great doubts and fears until it pleased God, he should be delivered, the love of the Countess of Gloucester, for whom he had for a long time endured great sufferings." His banner there bore the *three chevrons gules* of Clare, but his shield bore his own arms—*jaunes ou le egle verde*. (CP, HS, CDS, etc.)

PLATE I.

SEALS *c.* A.D. 1298.

KEY TO SEALS—PLATE I.

1. KING EDWARD I, 1272-1307, *gules three leopards or*. ✠EDWARDVS
· DEI · GRACIA · REX · ANGLIE · DNS · HIFERNIE · DVX · ACQVITAINIE.
2. HUMPHREY DE BOHUN,¹ 1298-1322, earl of Hereford and Essex, Con-
stable of England, *azure a bend argent doubly cotised or between
six lioncels or*. S' · H' · DE · BOHVN · COMITIS . . . ET · C' STAEVLAR
· ANGL'.
7. Counter-seal of no. 2. S'HVMFRIDI · DE · BOHVN · COMITIS · HERE-
FORDIE · ET · ESSEXIE.
3. ANTONY EEKE, bishop of Durham, 1283-1311, *gules a cross moline
ermine*. S' · ANTONII · DEI · GRA · DVNOLM · EPI.
4. RALPH OF MONTHERMER, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, 1297, d.
1323, *or an eagle displayed vert*. [RA]DI · COM' · GLOV'NIE · HERT-
FORD · KILKENI · DNI · GLAM.
6. Counter-seal of no. 4 with the same legend.
5. JOHN OF WARRENNE, earl of Surrey and Warenne, 1240-1305, *checky
or and azure*. S'IOHIS · DE · WARENNIA · COMITIS · DE · SURREIA.

¹ The seal of the s. of Humphrey who fought at Falkirk. The father's seal not being available.



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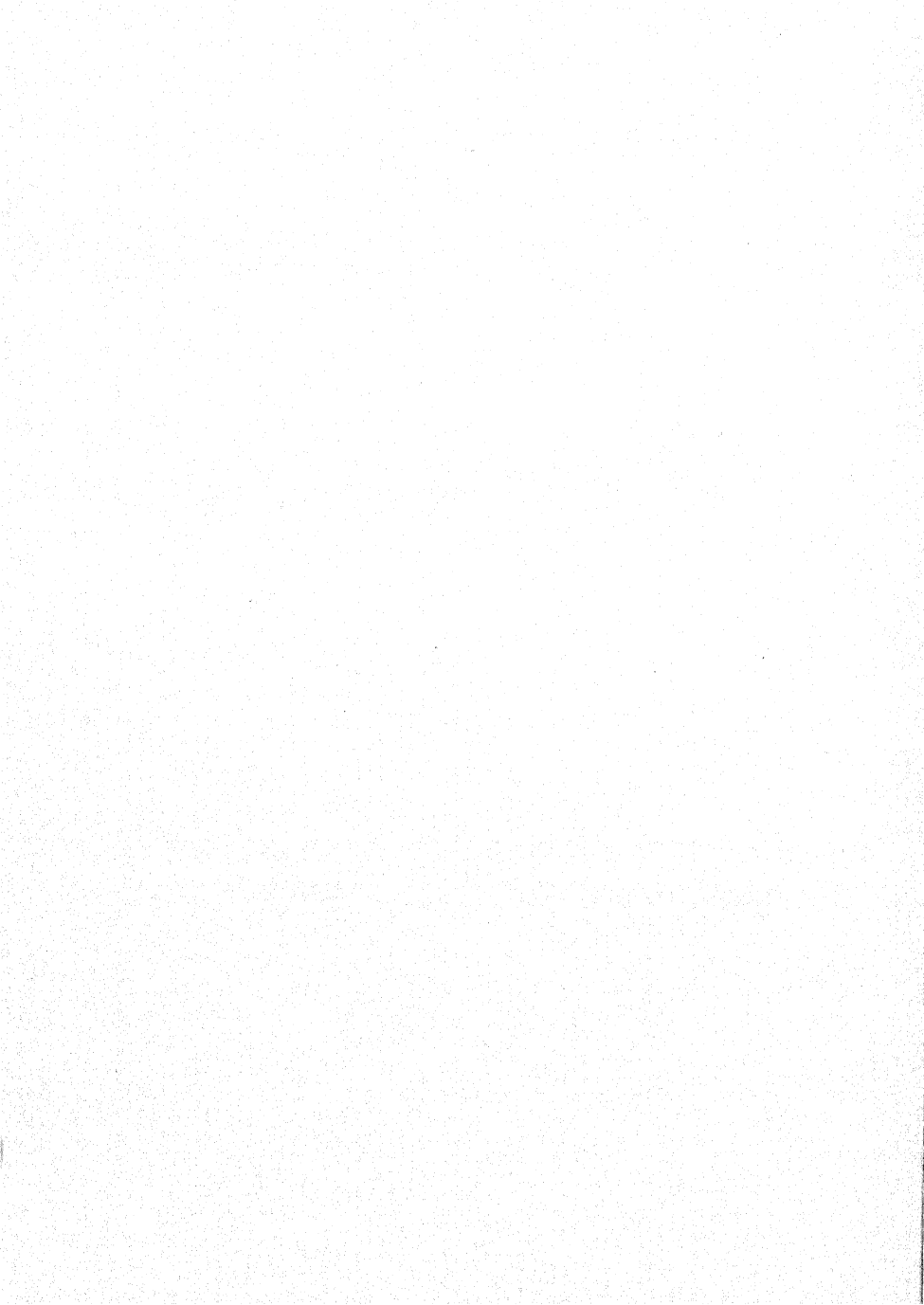


PLATE II.

SEALS *c.* A.D. 1298.

KEY TO SEALS—PLATE II.

1. HENRY LORD PERCY, 1293-1314, *or a lion rampant azure.*
SIGILLVM · HENRICI · DE · PERCI.
2. ROBERT FITZ ROGER, 1249-1310, *quarterly or and gules a baston sable.*
SIGILLVM · ROBERTI · FILII · ROGERI.
3. ROBERT FITZ WALTER, 1247-1325, *or a fess between two chevrons gules.*
✠SIGILLVM · ROBERTI · FILII · WALTERI.
4. RICHARD FITZ ALAN, earl of Arundel, 1287-1302, *gules a lion rampant or.*
SIGILLVM · RICARDI · COMITIS · DE · ARONDEL.
5. PETER OF MAULEY (III), 1249-1308, *sable a bend or.*
S'PETRI · DE · MALO · LACV · TERCII.
7. Counter-seal of no. 5. *Sable a bend or*, shield between three leopards.
* SEEL · PRIVE · SVY · APELE.
6. ROGER BIGOD, earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, 1270-1306, *pea pale or and vert a lion rampant gules.*
✠SIGILLVM · ROGERI · BIGOD.



4



5



6



3



7



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2



PLATE III.

BRASS OF SIR JOHN D'ABERNON, KT.

KEY TO PLATE III

BRASS OF SIR JOHN D'ABERNON, KT.

From plate in *Monumental Brasses* by J. G. and L. A. B. Waller. Reproduced to show, in more detail than the seals, the armour worn c. 1298. The authors assign this brass to that Sir J. D'A. who died in 1277; but the heater-shaped shield and armour generally suggest that it is rather the brass of his son John, who holding a kt.'s fee in Surrey was distrained for knighthood 26 June 1278, who served in the Scots wars between 1297 and 1322, M.P. Surrey 1297 and 1309, d. 20 Nov. 1327. He wears a mail hauberk with hood over his head, his war helm worn over the hood is not shown. His legs and feet are also in mail with ornamental leather knee-caps, prick spurs are on the heels. A linen surcoat with fringed edge, slit to the thighs, hangs by strips from his shoulders and is girt by a cord closely around his waist. His lance, with armorial pennon, rests in the crook of his right elbow, his armorial shield is slung by its strap over his right shoulder and held by his left arm; it bears—*de azure a un cheveron de or* (Parl.). His mail-clad feet rest upon a crouching lion which bites the shaft of his spear. His scabbard is fastened to its belt by a strip cut from the buckle end and laced through the other end, thus keeping it upright. His sword has a round pommel and broad rather sloping quillons.



BRASS OF SIR JOHN D'ABERNON, KT.

IV.—THE “NEW RIVER” WATER SUPPLY FOR NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, 1698-1723.

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD HUGHES.

As early as 1621 witnesses in a Chancery suit, *Maddison et al. v. Arnold*, complained of “the great scarcity of wholesome water” in Gateshead occasioned by the sinking of coal pits which had “drawn away and decayed the fountains and springs . . . whereby a thousand people there commorant and inhabiting cannot get any water for themselves and their cattle.” The chancellor, Sir Richard Hutton, appointed local commissioners to look into the complaint. Their findings are not recorded, but it is clear that the problem was not confined to Gateshead. In the second half of the century, the Common Council of Newcastle had to deal with frequent complaints of the great scarcity of water, and on more than one occasion it intervened to prevent colliery sinkings and water courses from drawing off the water from Pandon Bank or Conduit Head, the town’s main source of supply.¹ In December 1675, as a result of urgent complaints of great scarcity, an order was issued that all private cocks should be either stopped or cut off. Five years later, one Cuthbert Dikes laid a proposal before the council to erect a water engine for supplying the town from the river Tyne; an agreement was made in June 1693, but it would seem, from reports of scarcity in the following year, that nothing came of it. In October 1697 the town granted a lease to William Yarnold which was confirmed by act of parliament in the following year.² The

¹ Brand, *History of Newcastle*, I, pp. 442-4.

² 10 William, III, §.

bill was sponsored by the local M.P.s and appears to have encountered no opposition.³ This was the origin of the "New River," the town's first effective water supply.

The problem of finding fresh water was common to many expanding urban communities at this time. The supply of London and Westminster, the work of Lambe, Peter Moris, a Dutchman, and Bevis Bulmer in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was proving unequal to the growing needs a century later, and additional powers had been sought as early as 1664.⁴ Westminster, including the Treasury and Downing Street, and Chelsea, had their "New River" water early in the next century,⁵ and bills were promoted for the supply of Rochester and Chatham in 1685, for Bristol in 1695, and for Norwich and Deal in 1699.⁶ Boston and a score of other places from Knaresborough to Wigan followed in the next century.⁷ Little is known about William Yarnold, who is described as "gent, of St. Andrew's, Holborn." His brother, John, obtained a patent in 1698 for his invention of an engine "very useful for draining mines, meres and marshes and for raising water for the supply of towns."⁸ In the same year, the patent for Savery's steam-engine was obtained and confirmed by act of parliament a year later, but the relationship, if any, between the two inventions is obscure. What is clear, however, is that the numerous water-works undertaken in this and subsequent years are closely connected with the invention of the first effective steam-engine—the Savery-Newcomen engine. In 1700, William Yarnold and Robert Watson obtained a grant from the crown for providing a supply of fresh water to the royal manors of East Greenwich, Deptford and Sayer's Court, "which are in great want of

³ *Commons' Journals*, xii, pp. 100, 182, 308.

⁴ Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 49-50.

⁵ C.J., viii, 539. *Treasury Papers* (P.R.O.), 291/53.

⁶ C.J., ix, 735; xi, 429; xiii, 137, 208.

⁷ See Moore's *Index to the Commons' Journal*, 1714-74, under "Water."

⁸ *Cal. State Papers Domestic*, 1698, pp. 303, 333.

water and cannot be supplied without considerable charge.”⁹ Here the water was to be raised by “a forcing engine” from the river Ravenborne. The projectors claimed that they had already spent upwards of £600 and that the making of cisterns and conduits, the digging of trenches and laying of pipe-lines would cost many thousands more. They conceived “the profits will be small and will no way answer the charge” unless His Majesty grant them an exclusive licence for five hundred years at a nominal rent. Their petition was referred to the Surveyor-General, who reported favourably on the project and suggested a clause requiring the projectors to supply the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. With this rider, the Treasury “granted” the licence on the terms desired.

What first attracted Yarnold to Newcastle is uncertain. The industrial area of the Tyne had long been a happy hunting ground for speculators from London. As recently as 1693, Thomas Neale of the Mint, Alderman Bacon, the Lakes (later Sir Bibby Lake), John Tyzack and many other Londoners had invested heavily in the North Blyth Company with a subscribed capital of £10,000, which was to have a chequered and unsavoury history in the next quarter of a century. Whether Yarnold had interests in this concern is uncertain, but it is known that Mr. Meres, a director of the Sun Fire Office and of the York Building's Company, had. A little later Meres and certain “fire engineers” had a controlling interest in the Savery-Newcomen patent as coal-owners on the Tyne were to discover to their cost. But that is another story. In 1713 one Nathaniel Yarnold applied for a grant to run the mail packet service from Dover and Harwich to the Continent¹⁰—we know that there was a proposal about this time to put the new steam engine in ships. We are clearly in the wake of an interesting scientific development.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1700. pp. 73, 395. *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, LXX, §29; LXXV, §15. William Rider who had obtained Letters Patent for the supply of Deal in 1688 subsequently claimed that he had been at great charges “in causing engineers to go from London.” C.J., XIII, p. 180.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, CLX, §13.

Under the terms of the Newcastle Water Act, William Yarnold was empowered to ask the sheriff to appoint local commissioners to assess damages and settle questions of compensation for disturbance of ground in the digging of trenches, laying of pipes, making of cisterns and conduits and other work necessary for the undertaking. It is known that the commissioners, appointed by the High Sheriff of Durham, had three meetings for this purpose in 1699, on the strength of which Yarnold promoted in February 1701, a second bill in parliament to confirm and strengthen his position.¹¹ In this petition he claimed that he had "brought sufficient fresh water to serve the town" from a place called "*The Zeme*," situate in County Durham, some four miles from Newcastle. Brand in his *History of Newcastle*, supposed that the water came from three springs in Great Usworth Moor.¹² There is a place called "*The Leam*" a little to the north of Usworth. It would appear, however, that it was obtained from the wastes on Gateshead Fell; certainly it was brought through the inclosed grounds of the manor of Gateshead.¹³ In March 1700, Yarnold obtained leave from the common council of Newcastle to erect a cistern on the top of Cale-Cross, "carrying a pillar up in the middle and laying on it a new roof of lead" and, at the same time, he got permission to remove the cross in the Flesh Market and to erect there, on columns, a thirty feet square cistern. There were other cisterns at White Cross and at "*The Side*" pant.¹⁴ Whether a forcing-engine was ever erected is uncertain: from the site of the reservoir at Gateshead it is conceivable that gravitation would suffice to maintain a level in the cisterns on the other side of Tyne.

An indenture has survived, dated 12th September 1700, between William Yarnold "for and on behalf of the pro-

¹¹ *Commons' Journal*, XIII, p. 763.

¹² Brand, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 444-5.

¹³ *Infra*, p. 122.

¹⁴ Brand, *loc. cit.*

prietors and owners of the New River" and one Roger Garsell, vintner of Newcastle, under which Yarnold undertook to lay "a pipe of lead containing about three-quarters of an inch of water . . . in and through one small cock of brass souldered and set into the same" into the kitchen of the said Garsell who, in turn, covenanted to pay for a term of three years a yearly rent of £3, in quarterly instalments, for the supply of the said water, "casualty of fire or other unavoidable accidents, extraordinary and great frosts excepted." (New wine into old bottles!) There were additional clauses giving Yarnold and his assigns the right of entry into the premises for purposes of inspection and the right "to cut off the said quill or branch-pipe" in case of abuse or non-payment of rent by the lessee. The indenture was signed by Yarnold himself and J. Petry on behalf of the proprietors and duly sealed and delivered with "a double stamp" (two sixpenny's) in accordance with the stamp act of 1694.

That the proprietors did deliver the goods is indisputable, for there have survived the half-yearly accounts for the years 1721-23 inclusive. As these are identical in form it will be sufficient to reproduce the first for the half year ending Lady day 1721.

<i>The Names of the Several Streets where the water serves.</i>	<i>The Annual Rents.</i>	<i>Rents received every half year.</i>	<i>Abatements for want of Water.</i>	<i>Arrears.</i>
Keyside	£40 13 0	The figures in this column are approximately one-half of those in the preceding column, less any amounts for arrears or abatements.	There was an abatement of two shillings for "want of water" in the Close.	£2/12/6
Butcher and dogg banks	£6 10 0			5/-
Sandhill	£15 5 0			(?)
Castle Garth	£6 0 0			(torn MSS.)
The Close	£24 6 0			—
The Side	£56 19 0			£2/11/9
Westgate & Denton Chaire	£17 15 0			£1/-/-
Flesh Market	£44 9 0			—
Pilgrim Street	£33 15 0			—
Gateside	£44 15 6			£2/14/6
Totals	£290 7 6	£141 4 6		£7 7 9 ¹⁵

¹⁵ Obviously an error.

The disbursements for this half-year were £143/11/6. The figures for the following half-yearly periods were as follows :

	<i>Annual Rents.</i>	<i>Receipts (half yearly).</i>	<i>Disbursements.</i>
½ Year ending Michaelmas 1721	£301/3/6	£143/4/-	£176/18/1½
" " " Ladyday 1722	£315/13/-	£147/11/3	£191/14/9½
" " " Michaelmas 1722	£323/14/-	£153/15/9	£187/16/6½
" " " Ladyday 1723	£340/16/6	£157/10/3	£200/4/1¾
" " " Michaelmas 1723	£346/-/6	£156/16/10½	£216/12/5½

Thus it is clear that although the rents were steadily expanding it was not, in fact, a paying concern.

A comparison of the figures for Michaelmas 1723 with those printed above gives some indication of the places where the biggest expansion had occurred. Gateside [i.e. Gateshead] had gone up to £63/5/-, the Flesh Market to £52/8/-, Keyside to £52/-/6; elsewhere the increase was small, while the rents from Pilgrim Street actually showed a slight decrease. That all was not well may perhaps be deduced from the column headed "Abatements for want of water"—all but three of the places in the list (Gateshead was a notable exception) now had small amounts allowed; the Side, the Close and the Castle Garth were the scenes of the worst trouble. These accounts were prepared by Mr. Whitaker, who was presumably the collector or cashier. He was possibly a relative of a person of that name who was in the employ of Sir Ambrose Crowley at the famous Winlaton iron works: the form of the accounts bears some resemblance to those at Winlaton. At the foot of the last half-yearly account, Whitaker added this note. "Two milles rented of Robt. Ellison Esq. at £40 per ann. and have allwaies been let at £20 per an. till lately that I raised it to £23 per an: the rent badly paid." This is interesting as showing the principle of assessment used by the water company, viz., half the rentable value.

Some time before, however, the proprietors had encountered trouble from another quarter.

[Draft.]

PARK STREET,
April 4. 1718.M^r PRICE.

By what has [been reported to] us since I came to Town and from your behaviour to me in the Country and what has been suggested to you from thence, that I may be likely to make a Great waiste of your water. I apprehend it will be difficult to make an accomodation with the Gentlemen that are the proprietors, or at least there will be so great a delay in my haveing the water laid into my house & the terms of my being constantly supplied so hard to fix that I find myselfe obliged to take some other method for bringing water to supply my family & hope you will be so kind as to agree with some of my neighbours, that are more acceptable to M^r Whitaker & that have grounds laying contiguous to mine for making a Pond and as, for the time you have had the use of my ground, I desire no further consideration than that you will leave my ground as good as it was before the pond was made there. When you consider the delay that has [been given me] in this small matter . . . and the reasonable demand I made of M^r Whitaker in July last & of yourself since, I am persuaded you will think it just for me to resolve on having no more to do with your people for I am satisfied I shall have no good neighbourhood from them. This, I beg you will be pleased to take notice of & beleive me to be

Your most obedient humble servant.

W^m COTESWORTH.

It was soon apparent that the new Lord of the Manor of Gateshead had more sinister intentions.¹⁶ In the next month he took the opinion of learned counsel, Mr. Thomas Lutwyche, on the matter in dispute. In setting out the case for counsel's consideration he pointed out :

¹⁶ Cotesworth had succeeded to the manor of Gateshead in 1716 on the death of his brother-in-law, Alderman William Ramsay. The above letter and other material used in this paper are from the *Cotesworth MSS.*, now deposited in the Public Library at Shipcote.

- i. That the Bishop of Durham had granted a lease to the manor of Gateshead for twenty-one years to Dame Elizabeth Gerard from 29 May 1696 which expired in 1717.
 - ii. That under the act 10 William III for the better supplying the town of Newcastle with fresh water, W^m Yarnold had procured from the Sheriff of Durham three inquisitions the first of which assessed Lady Gerard's damages in cutting trenches and laying pipes through certain inclosed lands; the second through certain wastes, & the third 'in making a large Receptacle, Bason or Pond in other parts of the inclosed lands' and such damages were accordingly paid to the said Lady Gerard.
 - iii. 'But no damages were assessed in respect of damages accruing to the Bishop in whom the inheritance was.'
 - iv. That on 25th Feb. 1702, the Bishop granted a fresh lease of 21 years of the manor to M^r Bassett (who had married Lady Gerard) which lease by several assignments is now vested in W^m Cotesworth.
 - v. 'The water in this Bason or Pond very often breaks through ye Bankes . . . and overflows and damages other great parts of the inclosed Lands.'¹⁷
- 'Qu[ery]. Whether M^r Yarnold had by this act . . . a power to make a Bason or Pond in the inclosed lands.'
- M^r Lutwyche. 'If this Bason or Pond was necessary for ye work intended to be compleated, I think Yarnold had power to make such pond or bason in those lands.'
- 'Qu. Whether Lady Gerard having received ye damages assessed by the said inquisition in respect of this Pond or Bason & ye said lease, then in being, being since expired M^r Cotesworth is obliged by Law to permit ye continuance of ye said Pond or Bason.'
- M^r Lutwyche. 'The Act plainly intended a satisfaction to

¹⁷ Cotesworth, at this time, farmed considerable areas about Shipcote, Balkfield and Kirver's Close.

every person in proportion to the estate and interest that he had [cites the act]. And if the Lady Gerard's damages were only considered I think that ought not to be binding to M^r Cotesworth who does not now claim under that lease. But the act seems not to be fully worded for a remedy in this case for first it gives a general power for Yarnold etc. to enter and work, and then a power to the Sheriff at the request of Yarnold to call a Jury to assess damages & then a Proviso that it shall not be lawful for him [i.e. Yarnold] to enter etc. until payment of the sums so ascertained and assessed which may be doubtful whether that is a sufficient restriction where the Case happens.'

'Qu. Whether Lady Gerard having received ye severall damages . . . & the said lease then in being, being since expired, M^r Cotesworth is obliged by Law to permit the Continuance of ye said pipes through his grounds.'

M^r Lutwyche. 'That he [i.e. Yarnold] neglects to get any inquiry at all or anything assessed, but I conceive that the interpretation ought to be that when he neglects to get the damages of the reversioner assessed that it is not lawful for him to enter or convey water etc. and therefore as to the reversioner when his interest commences in possession he may (as I apprehend) bring an action of trespass for entering his ground and working there. And if that should be adjudged not to lye as the act of Parliament is worded, he has no remedy but to bring a Bill in Equity to compel the undertakers to procure an assessment of the damages according [to the intention of the act]. . . . As to the first laying of the pipes, the chief damage seems to have been to the then owner . . . but in respect of the opening of the ground for reparacon that the present lessee ought to be considered in the manner above mentioned.'

Whether Cotesworth did sue the proprietors is not

known at present; they were scarcely in a position to fight an expensive action. For the present, the story must end there. Brand records no more instances of complaints of shortage of water and of action by the Common Council until 1737, so presumably the "New River" supply continued.

V.—THE HERONS OF CHIPCHASE.

BY W. PERCY HEDLEY.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR REFERENCES IN THE NOTES.

- A.A. *Archæologia Aeliana*, four series.
C.B.P. *Calendar of Border Papers*.
J.H. *History of Northumberland*, seven volumes, by John Hodgson.
N.C.H. *A History of Northumberland*, fifteen volumes, 1893-1940.
N.R.C. Publications of the Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, vol. vii, *Northumberland and Durham Deeds*.
S.S. Publications of the Surtees Society.

In volume iv of *A History of Northumberland* is an account of the manor of Chipchase and a pedigree of the Herons of Chipchase who were its owners from 1348 to 1727. The pedigree has many gaps and some inaccuracies. The present account is intended therefore to correct and amplify it where possible.

The manor of Chipchase was held of the Umfraville barony of Prudhoe by the de Lisles. On the 9th of September 1348 Sir Robert de Lisle of Chipchase sold his rights as guardian of Cecily, only daughter and heiress of his son John de Lisle, to Sir William Heron of Ford on condition that she should marry one of Sir William's sons. On the 11th of October following Sir Robert de Lisle formally conveyed all his rights in Chipchase to Sir William Heron. Cecily de Lisle married Walter Heron, the youngest son of Sir William, and founded the family of Heron of Chipchase which was to continue for nearly 400 years.

WALTER HERON (1348-c. 1377); had a grant of the manor of Pigdon in tail male from his father, Sir William Heron

of Ford 5 Oct. 1360;¹ with William de Flixburg rector of Ford, and Nicholas de Raymes had a grant from William son of Sir Roger Heron of the vill of Heatherslaw 27 Dec. 1374;² had a grant 1 Oct. 1375 from Agnes Hunter of lands in Bellingham and Conheath.³ He was succeeded by his son.

ROGER HERON (*c.* 1377-*c.* 1400); as Roger son of Walter Heron of Chipchase in remainder to Kirkwhelpington by a settlement made in June 1377 by Sir William Heron of Ford;⁴ a Roger Heron witnessed a Swinburne grant of the manor of Knaresdale 1382/3;⁵ leased Pigdon to Sir Ralph de Eure for two years from 3 May 1395.⁶

ALEXANDER HERON (*c.* 1400-*c.* 1440); probably son of Roger Heron; a person of this name witnessed a Strother deed relating to lands in Thirnham 20 Sept. 1403;⁷ called lord of Chipchase 16 May 1408 when he granted lands in Pigdon to William de Themilby, clerk;⁸ owner of a tower at Chipchase in 1415;⁹ granted the manor, tower, vill and mill of Chipchase 6 July 1426 to Sir John Bertram and Sir John Widdrington, who gave power of attorney 26 June 1430 to John Horsley and John Carliol to deliver seisin of Chipchase and Whittle which they had by grant from Alexander Heron.¹⁰

SIR JOHN HERON KNT. (*c.* 1440-*c.* 1465); probably son of Alexander Heron; on 20 May 1443 William Harbottle gave letters of attorney to Gerard Heron of Chipchase to deliver seisin to John Heron of Chipchase esq. of lands in the vills of "Halyland" (? Holy Island), Harbottle, Dissington, Corbridge and elsewhere in Northumberland;¹¹ as John Heron of Chipchase, sheriff of Northumberland gave a receipt 29 Sept. 1444 to William Swinburne for green wax value 28s.;¹² in 1447 was a defendant with John Heron, late of Ford, esquire, in a plea of £140 debt by Robert Claxton;¹³ knighted before 1455 when he was keeper of Tyndale.

¹ N.R.C. VII, 116.

² *Id.*, 95.

³ *Id.*, 114.

⁴ *Id.*, 106.

⁵ *Id.*, 217.

⁶ *Id.*, 116.

⁷ *Id.*, 16.

⁸ *Id.*, 116.

⁹ J.H. iii, 1, 29.

¹⁰ N.R.C. VII, 114.

¹¹ *Id.*, 116.

¹² *Id.*, 214.

¹³ A.A.³ VI, 78.

Married Isabel, daughter of Robert, lord Ogle; called formerly wife of John Heron knt. in the will of her mother, Isabel Ogle dated 2 Jan. 1477/8; remarried John Widdrington;¹⁴ by 2 Jan. 1477/8 she had a grown up son, Robert Widdrington.¹⁵

JOHN HERON II (c. 1465-c. 1500) as John Heron of Chipchase esquire had a quit claim 6 July 1477 from Sir Roger Heron of Ford of the land called Mollawe by Chipchase;¹⁶ in Feb. 1497 with John Middleton and John Thornton had a grant from Giles Horsley of the manors of Thirnham, Bradley and Crawcrook in trust;¹⁷ high sheriff of Northumberland 1494;¹⁸ took a forty years lease from 13 Dec. 1495 of the vill of Hallington.¹⁹

SIR JOHN HERON KNT. III (c. 1500-c. 1541) party to an Ogle deed of 6 July 1515 relating to the manor of Horton;²⁰ Giles Musgrave and Roger Heron granted to him the manor of Chipchase and lands in Whelpington, Ray, Pigdon and Whittle in tail male with remainder to the heirs male of Gerard Heron, late of Errington and further remainder to William Heron of Ford and his heirs male 20 March 1516; these lands had been recovered in 1506 by Musgrave and Heron with John Heron of Chollerton and Norman Heron, both since deceased;²¹ tenant in 1522 of one quarter of Filton where he was proposing to build a stone house at a place called Towland;²² as Sir John Heron of Chipchase, knt., granted 22 Nov. 1524 to Sir Ralph Fenwick of Wallington the receivership of the Burgh lands in North and South Tyndale;²³ conveyed Heron's Piece at Corbridge 6 Aug. 1528 to his kinsman Roger Heron of Corbridge and Hallington;²⁴ on 6 Aug. 1529 let to Roger Heron of Corbridge a burgage and two acres in Corbridge;²⁵ appointed keeper of Tynedale and Redesdale in 1540.²⁶

¹⁴ N.R.C. VII, 179.

¹⁵ J.H. III, I, 320.

¹⁶ N.R.C. VII, 114.

¹⁷ *Id.*, 16.

¹⁸ N.C.H. IV, 340.

¹⁹ *Id.*, 240.

²⁰ N.R.C. VII, 181.

²¹ *Id.*, 114.

²² N.C.H. IV, 404.

²³ N.R.C. VII, 115.

²⁴ N.C.H. X, 165.

²⁵ N.R.C. VII, 117.

²⁶ State Papers Henry VIII, vol. v, 203.

Married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Musgrave²⁷ by whom he had issue :

1. JOHN HERON IV, succeeded his father to Chipchase.
2. GEORGE HERON I, succeeded his brother to Chipchase.
3. GILES HERON; treasurer of Berwick, killed by the Carrs 28 March 1557; a daughter Elizabeth was betrothed to William Carr of Ford, but died before marriage. In February 1580/1 there was a writ of privy seal to Lord Eure commanding him to use the town house of the late Giles Heron in Berwick, letting his widow know that she must give it up.²⁸
4. URSULA; married Roger Fenwick of Bitchfield.
5. THOMASINE; married Lancelot Thirlwall of Thirlwall; his will is dated 27 Dec. 1582.
6. SYBIL; married John Ogle of Kirkley.
7. A daughter; married Cuthbert Charlton.
Sir John Heron was probably married twice, as Cecily, daughter of Roger Thornton of Netherwitton, married firstly George Middleton, son of Sir John Middleton of Belsay, and secondly John, afterwards Sir John Heron of Chipchase.²⁹

JOHN HERON IV (c. 1541-c. 1545), called John Heron of Chipchase alias John Heron son of John Heron knt., 2 July 1509, when he had a royal pardon;³⁰ called junior in May 1517 when he and his son John Heron took to farm the manor of Birtley;³¹ on 4 Dec. 1518 a royal pardon was granted to John Heron senr., esq., John Heron jnr. and George Heron, gentleman, all of Chipchase, and Roger Heron, late of Hallington, gentleman, and others;³² had a lease of Carryhouse from the earl of Northumberland 8 March 1532/3;³³ called "little John Heron" in 1536 when he "conceived crafty device and subtle way" to have the inhabitants of Tyndale and Hexhamshire "to break";³⁴ in 1537 ordered to be taken as a pledge for his father and to be brought "with a hood on his head and so secretly kept by the way that no man should know him unto his

²⁷ N.C.H. iv, 340.

²⁸ C.B.P. i, 66.

²⁹ N.C.H. xiii, 326.

³⁰ N.C.R. vii, 117.

³¹ *Id.*, 115.

³² *Id.*, 117, where the date is wrongly given.

³³ N.C.H. iv, 340.

³⁴ S.S. 44, cxl.

deliverance."³⁵ [In Bowes and Ellerker's survey of 1541 Chipchase is described as a fair tower and a manor of stonework joined thereunto of the inheritance of John Heron of the same, esquire.] It was probably this John Heron who had a dispensation 1 Sept. 1491 to marry Joan Ridley.³⁶ A son, also called John Heron, joined with his father in taking a lease of Birtley in 1517 and had a royal pardon 4 Dec. 1518; presumably he died before his father.

SIR GEORGE HERON KNT. 1 (c. 1545-1575); had a lease 13 July 1550 from John earl of Warwick, of the manor of Birtley and the town and lordship of Barrasford for 21 years;³⁷ held Chipchase and Whittle for one-third of a knight's fee in 1552³⁸ and lands in Kirkwhelpington for one-twentieth of a knight's fee and £1 1s. 3d. rent;³⁹ George Heron, Margaret his wife and John his son and heir had a fine at Michaelmas 1560 with Cuthbert Ridley for four messuages in Whittle;⁴⁰ as George Heron, esquire, he was supervisor of the will of Reynold Forster of Capheaton dated 18 Nov. 1565;⁴¹ a commissioner 12 Feb. 1567/8 to enquire into the lands belonging to Hexham Priory.⁴² In N.C.H. iv, p. 340, it is stated that Sir George Heron died 10th Nov. 1591. This is incorrect, as Sir John Forster in a letter to Walsingham in 1587 says "having first Sir George Heron that married my sister and John Heron that married ane other sister, slaine."⁴³ Sir George Heron was killed at the Redeswyre in 1575;⁴⁴ at this time he was deputy warden of the Middle Marches and keeper of Harbottle.⁴⁵ Sir George Heron can probably be identified with Sir George Heron of Harbottle knt., the inventory of whose goods were taken in 1576.⁴⁶

Married 1 Marion, daughter of George Swinburne of Edingham.⁴⁷ 2 Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Forster

³⁵ State Papers Henry VIII, vol. v, 102.

³⁶ Lansdowne MSS., 326.

³⁷ N.C.R. vii, 115.

³⁸ N.C.H. xii, 107.

³⁹ *Id.*, 108.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, 196.

⁴¹ S.S., vol. 112, 33.

⁴² N.C.H. iv, 207.

⁴³ N.C.H. xv, 302.

⁴⁴ C.B.P. i, 201.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, ii, 101.

⁴⁶ S.S. ii, 411.

⁴⁷ N.C.H. iv, 340.

of Adderstone, widow of William Heron of Ford; she was not also widow of John Heron of Thornton as stated in N.C.H. i, p. 2288; she held dower in Ford in 1558;⁴⁸ William Heron of Ford died before 18 June 1535.

Sir George Heron had issue probably all by his first wife:

1. JOHN HERON V.
2. ISABEL; married 1 John Fenwick of Walker (his will is dated 10 Oct. 1580) and 2 James Ogle; her will dated 1 June 1602, proved 1604.
3. AGNES; married . . . Charlton.
4. ELIZABETH; married Edward Charlton of Hesleyside.⁴⁹
5. MARGERY; married Edward Shafto of Bavington.⁵⁰

JOHN HERON V (c. 1575-1590); mentioned in the will dated 26 April 1576 of his uncle Gawen Swinburne of Cheeseburn, who left lands in Stelling to one of his sons;⁵¹ laid claims to the estates of William Heron of Ford which he conveyed 11 Oct. 1576 to his son Cuthbert Heron.⁵² On 30 Sept. 1584 John Forster writing to Walsingham states that he has recently made a raid against the Elliotts where Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Heron and others killed five or six of them and brought in goods.⁵³ He was present when Lord Russell was killed at a Wardens' meeting 27 July 1585;⁵⁴ in 1586 held Whittle and Chipchase of the earl of Northumberland by one third of a knight's fee, suit of court, and 4s. 5d. rent;⁵⁵ appointed keeper of Tyndale in 1587;⁵⁶ attacked a Scots foray at Haydon Bridge Oct. 1587 and rescued a good deal of spoil,⁵⁷ lord Hunsdon complained that Heron was too friendly with the Scots raiders; that he had warning by his son of the Haydon Bridge foray and had been negligent in dealing with it,⁵⁸ lord Hunsdon again complained 8 Dec. 1587 that Heron was not fit to be keeper of Tyndale, "his son by whom he is wholly governed

⁴⁸ *Id.*, xi, 394.

⁴⁹ *Id.*, xv, 252.

⁵⁰ *Id.*, iv, 417.

⁵¹ N.C.H. vi, 139.

⁵² *Id.*, xi, 393.

⁵³ C.B.P. i, 156.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, 190.

⁵⁵ N.C.H. xii, 196.

⁵⁶ C.B.P. i, 269.

⁵⁷ *Id.*, 284.

⁵⁸ *Id.*, 286.

and young Ridley who married his daughter," are directly charged with bringing in the Scots to Haydon Bridge;⁵⁹ at a Wardens' meeting 13 April 1590 he presented several complaints against Scots raiders;⁶⁰ his will is dated 5 Dec. 1590 and was proved 19 June 1591.

He married Margery, daughter and coheirress of Sir Thomas Grey of Horton; her will dated 3 Nov. 1612, proved 19 Mar. 1613/14, administration granted to son John 29 Mar. 1613. Elsewhere she is called daughter of Roger Swinburne of Edlingham; Margerie Heron of Chipchase was a plaintiff at a Wardens' Court 28 April 1597.⁶¹ They had issue:

1. GEORGE HERON II; succeeded his father.
2. CUTHBERT HERON; Agnes Heron late wife to Cuthbert Heron, and John Heron of Chipchase esquire, presented a complaint before the Wardens of the Marches 14 April 1590 against certain of the Croziers of Liddlesdale for sheep stealing on 16 March 1589.⁶² Lord Eure in a letter to Burghley 18 Feb. 1595/6 describes Chipchase as "where Mr. Hearone lay, and kept divers men in aid of Tynedale, his child, an infant in minority, and the widow his mother married to Mr. Henry Bowes, who lies in the Bishopric."⁶³ Died before 18 Feb. 1595/6 when his widow Anne, daughter of Francis Anderson of Newcastle, had remarried Henry Bowes of Newcastle; on 26 Jan. 1609/10 Anne Bowes of Newburn Hall, widow and her son Cuthbert Heron had a conveyance of Stelling from Sir John Fenwick.⁶⁴ They had issue:
 - i. CUTHBERT HERON I, succeeded his uncle George Heron II.
 - ii. JOHN HERON; to whom his grandfather John Heron left £10 a year to keep him at school.
 - iii. DOROTHY; married John Swinburne of Capheaton.
3. JOHN HERON; of Uppertown in the par. of Simonburn 29 Mar. 1613 when he made an inventory of his mother's goods; had a legacy of £66 13s. 4d. by his father's will; administration of his mother's goods granted to him 19 Mar. 1613/4; will dated 2 June 1618 and proved 19 Jan. 1618/9; by his wife Elizabeth he had issue:
 - i. CUTHBERT HERON; by his father's will had lands in Kirkheaton; of Kirkheaton 1 Jan. 1646/7 and second in re-

⁵⁹ *Id.*, 295.

⁶⁰ *Id.*, 349.

⁶¹ C.B.P. II, 309.

⁶² C.B.P. I, 349.

⁶³ C.B.P. II, 107.

⁶⁴ N.C.H. VI, 139.

mainder to Chipchase by a settlement of that date. He had three sons, Matthew Heron (rated for lands in Kirkheaton in 1663), George Heron and Thomas Heron. George Heron can probably be identified with George Heron of Ingoe who with Anthony Heron of Cowpen were guardians of George Shaftoe of Ingoe in Mar. 1696/7;⁶⁵ Ralph Errington of Newbiggen in his will dated 31 Aug. 1697 mentions his sister Catherine wife of George Heron of Ingoe and their children John Heron of Ingoe, Mary Heron, Elizabeth Heron and Anne Heron;⁶⁶ there was still a George Heron at Ingoe in 1774, probably a descendant.⁶⁷

- ii. THOMAS HERON; to whom his father by will left lands in Hetherington; apprenticed 1 June 1623 to Henry Cock of Newcastle, mercer.
- iii. JOHN HERON; to whom his father by will left a tenement in Barrasford; perhaps later of Simonburn castle, if so, he had two sons, Cuthbert and Thomas.
- iv. RALPH HERON; to have his father's third part of the Park-end; apprenticed 2 Feb. 1634 to Henry Cock of Newcastle, mercer; his freedom was "postponed because he was an officer in military affairs in this town (Newcastle) before it was reduced, and because on the decease of his master he was not set over to another in due time, 10 Dec. 1645"; admitted to freedom 12 Mar. 1646; died shortly before 6 Feb. 1656.
- v. GEORGE HERON; heir to his father and executor to his will.
- vi. DOROTHY; executrix to her father's will.
4. REGINALD HERON; had 100 marks by his father's will; heir to his mother; refused to stand his trial for march treason 15 Mar. 1587/8 but had recently submitted;⁶⁸ took a lease of Prudhoe Castle in 1589, deprived of his lease in 1598 but restored 1606;⁶⁹ a commissioner for the Survey of the Debateable and Border lands in 1604;⁷⁰ had a son Anthony who had a legacy of £100 under his grandmother's will.
5. WILLIAM HERON; had 100 marks by his father's will 5 Dec. 1590 and was then under age.
6. WALTER HERON; under age 5 Dec. 1590 when he had 100 marks and "the whole farming of Rowchester" by his father's will.
7. BARBARA; married Hugh Ridley.

⁶⁵ N.C.H. XII, 387.

⁶⁶ N.C.H. IV, 34n. and 36n.

⁶⁷ N.C.H. XII, 387.

⁶⁸ C.B.P. I, 320.

⁶⁹ N.C.H. XII, 117.

⁷⁰ Survey of the Debateable and Border Lands, 71.

8. MARGERY.
9. MARGARET; married Thomas Salkeld.
10. DOROTHY; married John Raymes of Bolam;⁷¹ was to have married William Carr of Ford but her grandfather George Heron would not allow it.⁷²
11. ISABELLA; married Michael Weldon.

GEORGE HERON II (1590-1591); died 10 Sept. 1591; administration of goods granted 22 Jan. 1591/2 to his brother John Heron; inq.p.m. 22 Jan. 1593; died seised of the manor of Simonburn with lands in Hallbarns, Uppertown, Sharpley, "Prestop," Ravensheugh, Mortley and Gofton, the manor of Shitlington, Snabdough and Chirden with lands in "Epplerwoodhope," Hetherington, Harle and Well Cragge, also the manor and castle of Sewingshields, and the manor of Pigdon.

CUTHBERT HERON I (1591-c. 1648); nephew and heir of George Heron; aged eight years in 1593; had a legacy of £60 by his grandfather's will dated 5 Dec. 1590; a ward of the Crown 1604; freeholder of Shitlington, Simonburn, the North law in Hetherington, Nunwick and Sewingshields;⁷³ he also claimed as freeholds; lands in Chirdon, Snabdough, Ravensheugh, Gofton and Warkshaugh;⁷⁴ had a conveyance of Stelling 26 Jan. 1609/10 which he conveyed 11 Nov. 1622 to Henry Hynde;⁷⁵ took a lease of Dilston tithes 3 June 1640;⁷⁶ in 1613 tenant of the upper mill at Newburn, previously in 1607 held by his father-in-law Cuthbert Carnaby;⁷⁷ took a thirteen years lease from Michaelmas 1622 of Newburn manor house, the mill, and a house and close called Dewly;⁷⁸ called brother-in-law in the will dated 7 Sept. 1637 of Thomas Forster of Adderstone who had married Mary daughter of Sir Wm. Fenwick;⁷⁹ claimed rights on Hums-

⁷¹ N.C.H. x, 348.

⁷² N.C.H. xi, 393.

⁷³ Survey of the Debateable and Border Lands, 54.

⁷⁴ *Id.*, 68.

⁷⁵ N.C.H. vi, 85.

⁷⁶ N.C.H. x, 224.

⁷⁷ N.C.H. xiii, 147.

⁷⁸ *Id.*, 148.

⁷⁹ N.C.H. i, 229.

haugh fell in 1632;⁸⁰ rebuilt the manor house of Chipchase in 1621; high sheriff of Northumberland 1625; on 1 Jan. 1646/7 as Cuthbert Heron the elder he made a settlement of his lands, namely, the manor castle and demesne of Simonburn, the township and village of Nunwick, tenements called Burnhouse, Slaterfield, Gofton, Ravensheugh, Mortley, Tecket, a tenement in Haltwhistle, the manor of Shitlington, tenements called Pundershaw, "Swingenhowse." Hetherington, Blackaburne, Newbiggin, Linshields, Harlaw and Harlawside, Moneyrees and Mospittyerley, the manor of Snabdough, the manor of Chirdon and Chirdon head, tenements called Roughside, Clintburn, Cairnglassenhope and Dodhill, those lands and waste grounds lying on the north side of the "river of Jordon from the Spyerag upto the north side of Jordon to the head of the wester gaire of Boglesgaire," the manor and demesne of Chipchase, tenements called Rochester, Cowdon, Dunley, Mowlaw, Commegan, Wareshaughe, the manor and villages of West Whelpington and Ray, tenements called Blackhall and Raytong, the manor of Pigdon, a tenement in Corbridge, two burgages in Morpeth, a burgage in Warkworth, a tenement in Kirkharle, the tithe corn of Chipchase, Rochester, Birtley, Katerend, Caryhouse, Buitlandeshele, Brummop, Felling and Calfclose, the castle and manor of Sewingshields, Sewingshields side on the south side of the Picté Wall, the village township and demesne of Hallbarns, tenements of Uppertown, Teppermoor and Sharpley, the tithe corn in the east part of the parish of Haydon, the tithe of corn in the parish of Newbrough; the settlement was on himself for life, remainder to son Cuthbert, remainder to any daughters of his son Cuthbert, remainder to Cuthbert Heron of Kirkheaton and his sons Matthew, George and Thomas, remainder to John Heron of Simonburn Castle and his sons Cuthbert and Thomas, remainder to the right heirs of the settlor.⁸¹ Married firstly Anne, daughter of

⁸⁰ N.C.H. xv, 207.

⁸¹ Mr. G. H. Allgood's Title Deeds.

Cuthbert Carnaby of Halton⁸² and secondly Dorothy daughter of Sir William Fenwick of Wallington; she remarried 18 Feb. 1653 Thomas Carnaby of Durham; bur. 21 Dec. 1684. By his first wife he had three sons and two daughters:

1. JOHN HERON; matriculated Christ Church college, Oxon, 22 June 1632 aged 18; admitted to Gray's Inn 29 Nov. 1634; died unmarried in his father's lifetime.
2. CUTHBERT HERON II; succeeded his father.
3. GEORGE HERON; matriculated Christ Church college, Oxon 22 June 1632; admitted to Gray's Inn 29 Nov. 1634 aged 16; killed at Marston Moor; had a daughter Isabella m. Wm. Errington of Benwell.
4. DOROTHY; married John Swinburne of Capheaton (killed 13 Feb. 1643/4).
5. FRANCIS; married Nicholas Errington of Ponteland.⁸³

SIR CUTHBERT HERON BART. II (c. 1648-1689); petitioned 19 Feb. 1651/2 to the Compounding Committee that his title to lands in Bywell, bought from John and Ann Hodgson, should be examined as the lands had been sequestered for the delinquency of William Fenwick;⁸⁴ on 2 Dec. 1653 Rebecca Salvin of Hurworth claimed an annuity of £40 a year out of lands at Pigdon belonging to Cuthbert Heron;⁸⁵ recovered Corbridge rectory from his step-mother Dorothy Carnaby in 1658;⁸⁶ created a baronet 20 Nov. 1661; on 2 Feb. 1676/7 mortgaged lands called Simonburn castle, Sharpley and Hallbarns to Richard Bates of Newcastle, and on 6 Nov. 1689 the mortgage was increased to £1500;⁸⁷ said to have been buried at Simonburn 27 May 1688, but an indenture of 21 Dec. 1706 states that Sir Cuthbert Heron died 23 May 1689.⁸⁸

Married firstly Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Graham of Netherby [settlement after marriage dated 1 Jan. 1646/7]; she was bur. Simonburn 3 Feb. 1683/4 and had issue:

⁸² N.C.H. x, 408.

⁸³ N.C.H. xii, 464.

⁸⁴ S.S., vol. III, 204.

⁸⁵ *Id.*, 328.

⁸⁶ N.C.H. x, 224.

⁸⁷ Mr. G. H. Allgood's Title Deeds.

⁸⁸ *Id.*

1. CUTHBERT HERON of Chipchase Park House; bap. St. Mary's the less, Durham, 10 Mar. 1656/7; of Queen's college, Oxon; matriculated 2 Aug. 1669 aged 17; died in his father's lifetime; bur. Simonburn 28 Dec. 1684. Married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir John Mallory of Studley, co. York. by whom he had:
 - i. CUTHBERT; bap. Chollerton 7 Sept. 1680; bur. Simonburn 3 April 1681.
 - ii. CUTHBERT; bap. Chollerton 31 Oct. 1686; bur. Simonburn 27 May 1688.
 - iii. JOHN; bur. Simonburn 29 April 1683.
 - iv. GEORGE; bur. Simonburn 5 Mar. 1684/5.
 - v. ELIZABETH; only surviving child and heiress; bap. Chollerton 13 Mar. 1679/80; marriage settlement 29 Sept. 1698; m. Ralph Jenison of Elswick and Walworth (d. 1705); she was living a widow in 1693.⁸⁹
 - vi. MARY; bap. Chollerton 20 Mar. 1683/4; died young.
2. SIR JOHN HERON VI; succeeded his father.
3. SIR CHARLES HERON; succeeded his brother Sir John Heron.
4. DOROTHY, of par. of St. Andrews, Holborn, 21 Dec. 1706, when she sold her portion on Chipchase to Samuel Storey.
5. MARY.
6. ELIZABETH; m. . . . Fenwick of Stanton.
7. CATHERINE; m. . . . Smith of Southampton.
8. HENRIETTA MARIA; bap. Chollerton 13 Aug. 1670; living 11 May 1694.

Sir Cuthbert Heron married secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Faith Frotheringham; married All Saints, Newcastle, 23 Nov. 1684; will dated 6 Aug. 1695; bur. All Saints, Newcastle, 17 Nov. 1697 and had further issue:

9. CUTHBERT HERON of Durham; for him and his descendants see N.C.H. iv, p. 342.

SIR JOHN HERON BART. VI (1689-1693); on 27 Feb. 1684/5 John Heron of Chipchase, esq., mortgaged certain lands at Chipchase to Matthew Jeffreyson of Newcastle, merchant and alderman in trust for Dorothy Milbank, widow. In the deed it is mentioned that Cuthbert Heron, elder brother of John Heron is "lately deceased";⁹⁰ of Chipchase Park

⁸⁹ N.C.H. XIII, 326.

⁹⁰ Mr. G. H. Allgood's Title Deeds.

House 20 April 1686 when he took a lease of Blackaburn;⁹¹ as John Heron of Chipchase Parkhouse, esq., mortgaged 25 Feb. 1687/8 to Charles Hara and Joseph Embree, both of London, the manor of Simonburn, manors of Shitlington, Chirdon and Snabdough, Haydon tithe, Newbrough Tithe and tenements in Chipchase.⁹² Mortgaged lands in Shitlington, Snabdough and Chirdon 22/23 May 1690 to John Shaftoe of Nether Warden.⁹³ On 4 Aug. 1691 mortgaged the same lands to John Douglas of Newcastle.⁹⁴ Made a settlement of his estates 19 May 1692 to make provision for his wife Ann Heron and daughter Henrietta Maria Heron;⁹⁵ by will dated 12 Mar. 1692/3 left all his lands of the late dissolved monastery of St. James in the parish of Dutton, co. Northants., to his wife Ann and her heirs, she to sell Dilston tithes to pay debts; will proved 21 Mar. 1692/3.

Married Anne, daughter of John Heron of Brampton, co. Hants.; died 29 Oct. 1713 aged 45; buried Bath Abbey. They had issue:

1. HENRIETTA MARIA; daughter and heiress; married George Haxley of London.
2. ELIZABETH; bap. Chollerton 15 April 1686; bur. Simonburn 5 June 1686.

SIR CHARLES HERON (1693-c. 1715). An Act of Parliament was passed in 7 W. III entitled "An Act to enable Sir Charles Heron bart. to sell lands for payment of a portion and debts." On 26 May 1696 he leased for one year to Robert Allgood the manor of Simonburn, Newbrough and Haltwhistle tithes, and quit rents from Tecket, Buteland, Broomhope and Steel, to the intent and purpose that Allgood should be thereby made capable of taking a grant and release;⁹⁶ on 25 Dec. 1696 he entered into an agreement with Robert Allgood of Newcastle to sell him the manor of

⁹¹ A.A.³ v. 116.

⁹² Mr. G. H. Allgood's Title Deeds.

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ *Id.*

⁹⁶ *Id.*

Shitlington with tenements thereunto belonging called Shitlington Hall, Hemphole, Billerley cottage, Hindrigg, Espes, Espesmill, Brownsleazes, Britchcroke, Upper Highrigg, Nether Highrigg, Brighthouse, Upper Crag, Nether Crag, North Barnestead, Hallhill, Hole and Podshole, the manor of Snabdough with tenements called Snabdough and Birkhill, the manor of Chirdon with its members of Chirdon, Roughside, Cragshellhope and Monneyrees, and messuages called Gofton, Ravenshaugh and Morckley, the manor of Simonburn with Parksend, Sharpley, East Hallbarns, West Hallbarns, Green-end and Hillhouse, the timber on Herons estate called Nunwick. The conveyance was dated 9 Feb. 1696/7. On 29 April 1700 Sir Charles Heron mortgaged his manor of Chipchase to Robert Allgood for £740;⁹⁷ died before 4 Aug. 1718. His wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir William Poulteney knt., was guardian to her son and party to lease and release of 4/5 Aug. 1718. They had issue :

1. SIR HARRY HERON.

2. CATHERINE; married . . . Panton of Banff, N.B.

3. } Two daughters; died young.
4. }

SIR HARRY HERON (c. 1715-1749); on 8 July 1725 he conveyed to Robert Allgood the township of Nunwick and lands in Chipchase called Shortmoor and Burnmouthfoot; of Enfield, co. Middlesex, 14 Sept. 1725, when he settled the sum of £3976 9s. 6d. on trustees to provide for his wife if she should survive him and on any children they might have;⁹⁸ on 7/8 July 1725 with Robert Allgood conveyed Chipchase to Lancelot Allgood and George Stevens in trust for George Allgood;⁹⁹ on 16 June 1727 conveyed the remainder of Chipchase Estate to Joseph Radcliffe and Henry Quentry in trust for George Allgood reserving only an annuity of £166 13s. 4d;¹⁰⁰ of the par. of St. Mary-le-bone,

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

co. Middlesex, 25 Jan. 1731/2 when he sold £100 of his annuity to Joseph Kendall;¹⁰¹ bur. Acton, co. Middlesex 26 Feb. 1748/9. Married before 1727 Elizabeth Coventry; she died about 1734.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

VI.—ANGLIAN REMAINS AT ST. PETER'S, MONKWEARMOUTH.

BY EDWARD GILBERT.

The remains of the early Anglian monastery on this site must be considered the most important *locus criticus* in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon architecture. In estimating development literary records are most valuable, followed by churches containing more than one date. Here we have both to a degree greater than for any other Anglo-Saxon church. On the one hand are the illuminating comments of Bede, and on the other a complex of deposits as will be shown, of many different periods. Baldwin Brown, in *Arts in Early England*, vol. 2 (2nd ed.), deplors this fact, complaining of the difficulties it creates and welcoming a church like Escombe "obviously of one date." The writer cannot understand this attitude, for the difficulties here are also opportunities, and in short we may say that if we cannot get a line on the development of the Anglo-Saxon architecture from this church, the sole remains of the monastery, then we shall have to give up all hope of a proved as opposed to a conjectural development.

It may be helpful to the reader to understand what axioms are used in this study, and of these the most important may be reduced to two. Firstly it is throughout assumed that difference of technique in openings of equal importance implies a difference of date, and secondly it is assumed, following this, that there is no *a priori* objection to assuming quite a number of different Anglian dates. In so far as the nature of our axioms is the most important element in the picture we obtain, it may be said that not the

least valuable consequence of this study, is to substantiate the axioms here assumed. Neither of these axioms has always been assumed by previous investigators, and if any are surprised at the novelty of the picture which results, let them in charity put it down to such considerations as these and not to bad motives. Before leaving the question of assumptions it must also be stated that the writer accepts the underlying assumption of Sir Alfred Clapham's book, namely that Anglian architecture is a branch of European, even if a backward one, and he may say that he regards the liberation offered us in that book *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* from the rather narrow ideas of previous writers as the foundation of any scientific study of the architecture of the period. Where the writer differs again however is that his general conception of development is not that of a unilateral development of stone architecture, but rather of a complex development of stone and wood architectures running side by side and continually influencing each other. This may be called the theory of the double development.

When the present study was written and had gone to the Editor, Mr. Milburn of the Sunderland firm of architects who did the restorations of 1924 introduced the writer to Mr. Hall's study of 1924 in *Antiquities of Sunderland*, and also produced documents from the aforesaid restorations, together with some most valuable photographs, which cannot be here published, of both restorations, those of 1924 and 1866. The text has been rewritten to include references to Mr. Hall's paper, which was of importance, while the essential facts from the architect's report of 1924 are included in the form of an *addendum*, and the writer wishes to offer his cordial thanks to Mr. Milburn for his generous help.

The actual remains concerning us here are only those of the west wall of the nave and the west porch with a tower built over it, the plan of which is shown in fig. 3. (p. 155), after Messrs. Milburn's by kind permission. Before considering these remains a short summary of the oft-told

history may be helpful. It is possible that an early Hiberno-Saxon monastery stood on the site. Whether that was so or not, the first stone building must be assumed to be that built by Benedict Biscop in 674. Bede tells us that it was quickly built, that Biscop had Gallic masons and also glaziers, and finally mentions that it was built *opere Romano* in a manner, he says, in which Biscop ever took delight (*Historia Abbatum*). This same Biscop was an Anglian noble who, like Wilfrid, had become dissatisfied with the Scottish religion and had gone to Rome to imbibe fountains of religious truth. Like Wilfrid also he seems to have been a friend of Kenwalch, the king of Wessex, and to have spent some time in Kent. In fact, it is supposed that it was he who brought the new archbishop Theodore over to England in c. 668, and that he administered the school at Canterbury until the arrival of Hadrian. However that may be, Biscop was no friend of Wilfrid, with whom he quarrelled when they were jointly going to Rome. Considering that Wilfrid had been given into his charge it is remarkable that he should have just left him en route, and implies a very serious quarrel. According to Eddius, Biscop was too *austere* for Wilfrid's tastes. This fact must always be remembered; Biscop had his roots in the period governed by the austere Irish, and from his whole history and from his dying speech where he denounces the practice of nepotism in the inheritance of monasteries, and which should be compared with Wilfrid's dying speech, we get the impression of a true and serious minded monk, half-way in spirit to the Scots, even if he had broken with them on certain points.

He was succeeded in the abbacy by his friend Ceolfrid. Biscop died about 690 and Ceolfrid abdicated to go to Rome in c. 716. The following abbot, named Hwaetberht, probably innovated, as Bede remarks that he did one thing which pleased everyone. *One* is not of course very many, and the whole tone of Bede's references, in the writer's opinion, are characteristic of the faint praise which damns.

After Bede ceased to write about 730, the next known event concerns the ravages of the Danes in 794. At this period it is related by Symeon of Durham and the *Chronicle* that "Egfrith's minster at the mouth of the Don" was sacked. This may well have been the Wearmouth monastery. It is assumed that the monastery came to an end in 875. It is fairly clear that monastic life was at a low ebb under the Danish rule, but the interpretation put on some remarks of Symeon of Durham, that there was no revival before 1074 seems to the writer unwarranted, though we must admit that there is no literary evidence of the post-Danish restoration. The point will be further discussed in the text.

THE NAVE.

We will now consider in detail the actual remains of the first period of building here, namely the west wall of the nave and some other features. This work is in uncut rubble measuring 19" for four beds, and is marked by the well-known bonding stones set diagonally and appearing in plate IV, fig. 2, on the left of the door. They pass right through the wall. The west wall measures 31' to the springing of the gable. Within the tower there is a horizontal band of cut stone from c. 27' to c. 35' up and measuring about 25" for four beds. Above this the rubble wall continues to c. 42', and then the walling of the superimposed tower comes in. Fig. 1 gives the nave elevation.¹ The apex of the first nave was high, at about 52'. Outside the tower, the walls have been refaced on the north from about 26', and on the south as is visible in pl. IV, fig. 2, from somewhat lower. Internally, however, the original wall is unbroken. In the middle of the band of cut stone patching surviving inside the tower, is the deep hollow moulded string course, measuring 12" deep. We must therefore assume that it is an insertion, going with the cut stone

¹ The figure is in this respect schematic that the band of cut stone has actually been lost outside the tower in restoring the wall.

patching, shown on fig. 1. Outside the tower this string course has been cut away, though still visible, as seen again on fig. 1, but it should be noted that it does not reach the quoin, so that when the quoin was built the string was not part of the scheme, and this alone proves that the upper

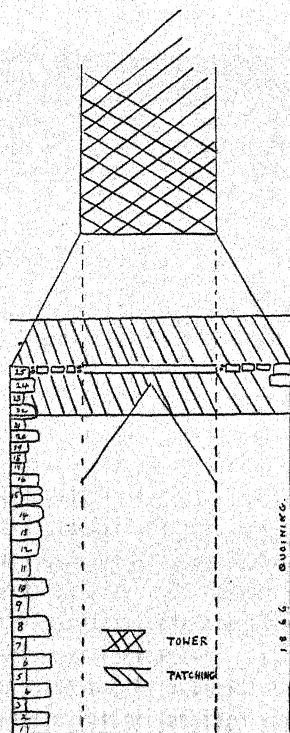


FIG. 1.

quoins are not original. It is definitely stated by Symeon of Durham that Aldwine in 1074 rebuilt the "half-ruined walls," but it is here shown that the rebuild of the upper part of the wall outside the tower and the rebuild of the quoin cannot be contemporary, for the upper part of the wall undoubtedly contained the string course, and there would be

no point in including it in order then to cut it away. Which work then is Aldwine's?

Before answering this question let us consider the quoins. That on the south is a rebuild; that on the north is ancient and is shown stone by stone, but not to scale, in fig. 1. The first ten stones working up are in beautiful side alternate, using the terms worked out in my paper in this journal in 1946. Baldwin Brown makes the curious error of saying they are not megalithic; but they certainly are, measuring 73" for four beds with a cubic content of c. 5,400 cubic ins. as against 1,000, or 2,000 cubic ins. in the ordinary Norman quoin stone. The fact is that the megalithic character is masked by the beautiful proportions of these quoins, which are the high water-mark of early megalithic quoining in the north from which all the other quoins derive in an increasing series of barbarism. It may be mentioned that in the figures given for quoins it is always assumed for convenience that the inner sides correspond to the outer, but no judgement on this point is intended.

Above the first ten stones the quoining is degraded and formless. We get first three stones showing their sides and then three stones showing their faces. Above this again the work reverts to a kind of side alternate, lacking, however, the beautiful proportions and regularity of the lowest stage. It must be mentioned here that this quoin was perhaps interfered with in part during the restoration of 1866. A photo from the Milburn collections shows the lower quoins as described here; then comes a stretch which may have been interfered with, and on top comes the poorish side alternate, the fourth and fifth stones being too small while the seventh appears to be laid on face. None of the present quoin stones were however inserted in 1866, and all are ancient, while however we interpret this photograph, which cannot be shown here, there is the same difference between the lower and upper quoins, as in the quoin to-day. The upper quoining, containing some reused material, is just what we find in the eleventh century, and since, moreover,

we have no evidence of a rebuild at a later date, we are forced to assume that the upper quoin is the work of Aldwine, as described by Symeon. In that case his work came far short of the rebuilding of the upper walls, merely rebuilding the quoins in their upper part. The Normans were inclined to exaggerate and in some cases perhaps to invent what they had done, and there is no difficulty in accepting the natural interpretation of the evidence, fraught as it is with important consequences. In that case it was Aldwine who hacked away the string, a proceeding just like the irreverent Normans.

WEST WINDOWS.

The two parallel windows in the west wall are original except for their downward splay, and of the greatest interest.

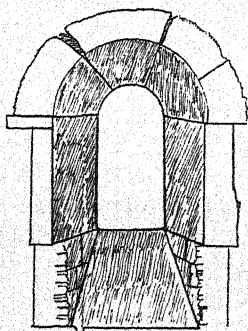


FIG. 2.

An internal view is shown in fig. 2, taken from the Commissioners' view. They are about 11' apart and 23' from the sill to the ground, an altogether abnormal height. The later group of churches such as Jarrow, Escombe and Corbridge have windows only about 12 or 13' from the ground. These windows measure *c.* 18" across externally and 51" high, 65" high and 33" wide internally according to the Commissioners of 1866.² The character of the external arch is not

² D.N.A.S. Transactions, vol. 1.

certain, but it has a curious little pseudo-impost, and certainly has monolithic jambs. Internally it can be seen that the arch is in three through voussoirs, while the jambs are through-stones. The downward splay is treated quite differently; it has not got through-stones in the jambs, and it has a moulded and balustered arris, which belongs to the period of the *Romanesque anticipation* described below. They are plainly an addition to the first simple conception.

WEST PORCH.

Belonging to the *first period* of building, though probably a few years subsequent, was the first west porch, which as will be shown was one-storied, and to which belongs the blocked door in the east wall of the present porch. The first porch was not in bond with the nave, but was in existence when Easterwine was buried there about 685. It was built of the same material as the nave, and the fabric survives to-day under the later porch. The quoins of this first porch are probably lost.

The blocked door mentioned above was a noble portal 12' high and 4' wide.³ It was turned in a true arch, but one of the simplest kind, with stones similar to those of the fabric and mortar joints nearly 2" thick. The jambs are lost, but would probably have been similarly made. A noticeable feature of this door is that it is not central, being 27" from the north wall and only 12" from the south wall of the porch. Such non-centrality seems to be designed to facilitate an altar, and marks the porch as one of the seventh-century type which may be called a *porticus*. The present door from porch to nave is built in the blocking of this early door.

ELUCIDATION.

We have now put on record the essential facts of the first building period here, and the question comes up of how much we can say about the church built by Biscop. Very

³ These are strange proportions. Where did they come from?

little really emerges directly from the evidence, only that we have confirmation and interpretation of the meaning of the *porticus* to which Bede refers. Bede refers altogether to three appendages to the church, one of which he calls the *porticus ingressus*, and that must be the west porch of which we have remains; secondly he mentions a *sacrarium* to the south, and finally the porch of St. Peter to the east, which would correspond to the sanctuary. Apart from this we have evidence of the remarkable height of the walls. From this point we have to go on to ask questions. Firstly we may ask what was the length of the nave of Biscop's church. It is usually assumed that this question was settled by the Commissioners of 1866, and that the Anglian nave underlies the present one which measures about 65' \times 19'. Actually this is more than the Commissioners say. "The foundation of the Saxon north wall of the church was uncovered for us, running in the line of the arcade mentioned above." This statement hardly closes the question, but we can assume that the normal interpretation is correct from the evidence of St. Peter, Bywell. At this church are remains of an early Anglian church which not only has the same general measurements as Monkwearmouth church, but also the same high windows and of which the east quoins remain.

In regard to the east end of the original church, this was stated by Bede to be in the form of a *porticus*, viz. a chapel with an altar, and of the nature of this we are once again helped by the invaluable St. Peter's, Bywell. In his paper of 1946 the writer was only concerned with the nave of this church. Subsequent investigation there has shown that the first 16' of the north wall of the chancel is in fabric absolutely identical to the inch with the old walling of the nave. This is the piece containing the blocked door with L and S jambs figured in the previous paper. Moreover the walling here is the full height of the walling of the nave, c. 26', which is very unusual in a chancel. In short there can be little doubt that the chancel wall is here a relic of the first church.

It measures 17' long, and we can probably assume that the internal measurements were *c.* 17' square. The remarkable thing here is the spacious size, plainly more in keeping with large sanctuaries of the south than the attenuated ones derived from Celtic traditions. The southern apsidal sanctuaries were about 20' each way. Such a spacious chancel may have had some ritualistic significance. It may be here mentioned that the assumption made by J. F. Hodgson in his little book on the churches of Jarrow, Escombe and Monkwearmouth, that the altar stood clear of the east wall, in order to account for the burial of Biscop east of the altar is not necessary. More probably Biscop's tomb was actually built into the wall, for there is warrant from the remains at Jarrow, where the altar was in its normal position.

Let us now ask another question, namely whether we can say anything of the arrangement of the *porticus*. Once again the priceless remains at St. Peter's, Bywell, come to our rescue. Over the blocked door with L and S jambs in the north wall is the mark of a low gable, the peculiarity of which is that it is neither central over the door, nor with the apex against the east wall of the nave. This door, be it remembered, adjoins the east wall of the nave, at the extreme end of the chancel. The apex of the gable is in fact about 18" from the east wall of the nave, and the inference seems to be that it was continued on the north wall of the nave, and in fact that we have here the traces of one of those *porticus* which existed at the east end of the nave and overlapped the chancel. The door therefore is *in situ* and marks the entrance from the *porticus* to the chancel. Moreover, in the light of this finding we must attribute the strange way in which the south aisle overlaps the chancel by 11' to the pre-existence of a similar *porticus* on the south. Evidently then the Kentish *prothesis* and *diaconicon* did reach Northumbria, and were used in spite of the awkwardness when the chancel was considerably narrower than the nave. Moreover again, it is plain that at St. Peter's, Bywell, the northern chapel was the one used for the clergy, and the

southern must therefore have been the sacristy, so that we have direct evidence that the arrangements at the two churches corresponded.⁴ The importance of the evidence thus disclosed is enormous and cannot fail to elevate St. Peter's, Bywell, into one of the most important Anglian churches in the country, as it is already the most beautifully situated.

The evidence suggests that there were two eastern flanking *porticus* at Monkwearmouth as well as a square-ended chancel and a single west porch. We can assume that the arrangements at the two churches were similar. The analogy would explain why no remains of the Anglian chancel were found when excavations were made in the chancel at Monkwearmouth, viz. the Anglian chancel was as wide as the present one. Naturally the inference from one church to the other is not absolutely certain, neither is the original length of the nave at Monkwearmouth. Excavation can carry the problem further.

Let us now conclude our elucidation of the nave of Biscop's church with a last question, viz.: What was the meaning of the high walls and windows? In the writer's opinion the natural interpretation of this feature is that there were two floors, the west windows lighting the upper floor. Even with the downward splay these windows would perform their function better at a lower height, if it was to light the nave. We may mention here that it seems that certain Irish churches had this feature. Thus Mlle Henry Francoise in her book on Irish Art, figures a section of churches at Kells and elsewhere, which she says were divided not into two but even into three floors. The date she gives for these churches is about the beginning of the ninth century, so that, if the feature occurred at Monkwearmouth, it could not be derived from the Irish examples, but rather the reverse. At any rate the feature was an element of western barbaric architecture in the Dark Ages, and according to the theory of double complex development there need be no

⁴ The reader is reminded that Bede states the sacristy was on the S.

difficulty in seeing it at any early date. We cannot, of course, assume that it occurred at Monkwearmouth unless further evidence appears, but it needs to be borne in mind. In that case the lower floor must have had another set of windows. The first floor would be about 21' up, if it existed, below which, with sills about 14' up, might have come the lower windows, and below that again the pictures which we are told Biscop put on the walls. We might mention, too, that no such high windows can be traced in southern England, which suggest some barbaric cause for them.

INTERPRETATION.

In interpreting this monument we may consider together the features of the long nave and the high walls which may have a common origin. According to Baldwin Brown they may be regarded as having separate origins. The long nave he thinks may be a Saxon peculiarity. This view seems strange as the feature occurs primarily in the Anglian and not the Saxon parts of the country. Sir Alfred Clapham is inclined to assume a Gallic origin, presumably because of the Gallic masons mentioned. It is doubtful, however, whether masons invited to the country would carry out their own ideas, and if so only by permission. It seems rather that their function was to carry out Biscop's ideas, but to render them in stone. Therefore a Gallic origin cannot be accepted without proof that the feature did exist in Gaul and at a date prior to that of this church. This evidence not being forthcoming Baldwin Brown's view seems more acceptable. The feature is certainly not classic, nor derived from Irish barbarism, and we seem driven toward the view that the Anglians may have had some influence on their own architecture, from the wooden work which must be assumed behind this stone work. In regard to the high walls, Baldwin Brown wanted to see a derivation from fear of the Danes, but the originality of this feature here is almost certain and certainly must be assumed. Here again we seem driven toward some Anglian influence.

The general plan of the nave with flanking *porticus* is unquestionably Kentish, a fact which shows that Biscop got his masons to do what he wanted. And equally classic is the form of the openings, for at this date the turned arch would be an absolute symbol of classicism to the Angles. The voussoired window is indeed more classic in nature than ever occurred again in round arch work in England, for normally such small openings are made from the arched lintel even in Norman times. The deep splay of the early windows is interesting, and this may perhaps have had an Irish origin, but it shows that we cannot in architecture make the kind of assumptions which Brondsted has made in the sculpture, viz. a gradual devolution from classic to barbaric forms. It will be seen that the least splay here occurs in the latest work. Assumptions of the type made by Brondsted are therefore shown to be too abstract. The fabric may be considered to be Gallic, for this is the feature which the Gallic masons were brought over to do. According to Strykowski such rubble is the characteristic work of the teutonic tribes left to themselves in stone building.⁵ The origin of the quoins is a complete mystery, and may be supposed to be Gallic.

On the whole, therefore, the general character of this work is classic, in its Kentish form, and we can see perfectly the significance of Bede's reference to the work being in *more Romano*, not perhaps the work an Italian would recognize as such, but the work which a Kentishman would hold for such. It is true the classic work here is absolutely plain and unadorned. This is what would be expected of the austere Biscop. And what is very remarkable is the almost total absence of Irish influence. Yet the same thing is true of the sculpture of the age. It is quite possible that in building a west porch Benedict was making an innovation, and if so one of the most significant in the whole range

⁵ *Church Art in N. Europe*, a technique "of field stone and mortar . . . was also used, I think, in Gaul, in addition to the *opus Romanum*, being the original *opus Gallicum*," p. 26.

of Anglo-Saxon architecture. There is no evidence that a west porch was built in Kent by this date, since the west porch at Bradwell may well have been addition. On the contrary in the undoubted work of 669 at Reculver, only five years before Biscop built, there was definitely no west porch, unless of wood. It was added after. Thus there seems some reason for ascribing this feature to Biscop, and once again the origin is neither classic nor Irish.

To conclude, the main significance of Biscop's church was to be a witness to the classic and catholic mode of life. The numerous barbarisms included would probably have been taken for granted, whatever their source.

SECTION B. THE WEST PORCH.

Before going on to consider in detail the two-storied west porch under the tower, it will perhaps be best to give the evidence that this porch was preceded by a one-storied porch. This one-storied porch is suggested by the fact that the line of the roof of the two-storied porch seriously fouls the west windows of the nave. This also the proof that these windows are original. This can be seen from within the tower where the gable line of the porch roof on the west wall of the nave comes in just under the impost level of the windows. The position is shown in fig. 7 (p. 159). This fouling of the window obscured some of the light to the window, and it is unlikely that it should have been original. There would be no need to doubt this fact were it not that in the valuable elevations of the Commissioners of 1866 it is made to look as if the windows were clear of the porch roof or nearly so. This appearance has been attained by making the windows nearer the outside walls of the nave than they are really. In the Commissioners' elevation the outer jambs of the nave windows are put outside the line of the porch walls. Anybody can verify without trouble that these jambs are really almost wholly within these lines. It is apparent to the eye from the ground. The writer suggests that the real position is shown in his own elevation. It may be re-

marked here that in this elevation only these nave windows are in their lateral position. On the strength of this evidence the assumption seemed forced that the original porch was one-storied, and the two-storied porch was added later. This view is also borne out by the technique, for, to anticipate, the earliest work in this new two-storied porch is quite different both in technique and character to the work we have been describing. The plan is shown in fig. 3.

In conclusion on this interesting point, it may be mentioned that there is a half-round stone in the west wall of the nave at about 20', and central, which Mr. Hall roundly declares is the saddle stone of a porch. If that is so, it cannot be of the two-storied porch, whose apex was nearly 30' up, and must have been that of the one-storied porch, which would thereby be given walls, about 12' high, which is quite reasonable. If therefore Mr. Hall's verdict is accepted, the one-storied porch is proved. If not, a better explanation must be given of this curious stone which is plainly not merely building material.

The famous west porch survives two stories high under the later Anglo-Danish tower. Its total height was some 28' 2", and it consists of two stories and a gable. The two stories are separated externally in the west wall by what appears to have been a frieze. It is 12" deep and was once covered with carvings of naturalistic animals in cable-moulded panels. The upper edge corresponds to the internal floor, the elevations being shown in fig. 7 (p. 159). The second stage terminates in a hollow moulded string which must date with that on the nave, and is only 6' 10" high. Thus the stories are unnaturally divided. See fig. 7. The second stage has now no roof to it, but is open to the tower built on it. The gable of the porch contains remains of a life-size carved Rood.

The porch is not in bond with the nave. It measures 9' 5" E.-W. and 8' 2½" N.-S. Its fabric internally is much like that of the nave, while externally, particularly on the south and to the west end, there is much patching in a

small, square-cut stone. The patching is blackened equally with the original fabric. The quoins do not equate with those of the nave. They are smaller and have a considerable tendency for the square-sectioned stone to appear. On a small scale they resemble rather the quoins of Jarrow and Escombe. They average 63" for four beds, and have the significant peculiarity that they correspond in their irregularities, as can be seen in plate IV, fig. 1. It is probable that

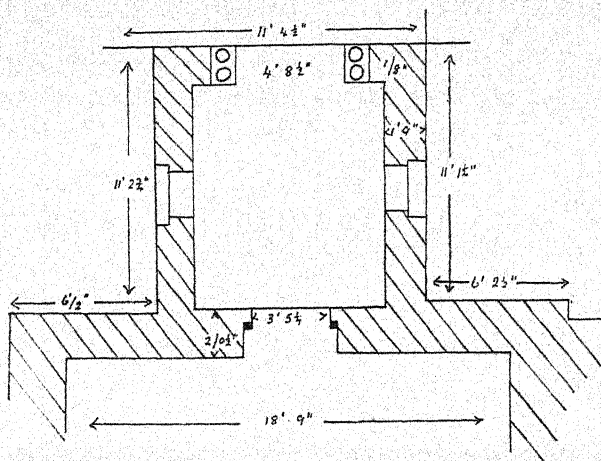


FIG. 3.

the same detail occurred at Sockburn in the early work, probably *c.* 780.

The ground floor has four centrally placed arches (fig. 3). On the east is a doorway 7' high and 43" wide. It is rebated for a door opening to the nave, and has an arch of voussoirs, pseudo-imposts, and on the inside monolith jambs measuring 51" high. The side doors are similar in technique, and the mortar joints are as fine as $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The nave door is shown in plate IV, fig. 2, where the diagonally laid beds also appear. The west arch has the most remarkable details, including a two-ordered arch, chamfered imposts, arris rolls to the imposts, and L and S jambs, and the lower long

stone has a barbaric carving,⁶ while the upper one is set back to take two moulded balusters of an Anglian type. This arch is 9' x 5'. It is shown in plate IV, fig. 1. The ground floor is arched with a plain barrel vault of well cut stone.

The upper floor is amazingly interesting. It is entered to-day from the nave at the height of 14' 2" by an opening measuring 18" x 50" externally where it is modernized, and 30" x 60" internally (fig. 4), where it has an arched lintel 42" x 31" and jambs of one long and two small stones which may be called *hen and chickens technique*. The interesting thing is that the external face is to the nave, so that it lights the porch from the nave. It has been called a door, but originally was plainly a window, the measure-

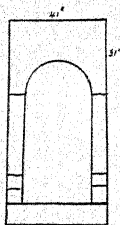


FIG. 4.

ments should be compared with those of the original windows of the nave and with those of St. Peter's, Bywell, namely 19" x 50" externally and 30" x 66" internally. No Anglo-Saxon door was ever splayed to such a degree, and the writer counts few things more certain in the uncertain science of Anglo-Saxon architecture than that this opening was built as a window. It is placed very nearly on the floor of the upper stage, and it was this fact which first prompted the enquiry whether there was not originally a lower floor, heightened for the insertion of the vault. The test of this is whether the original door can be found. Now it so happens that there is a blocked door in the north wall of

⁶ The carving is serpentine, but the serpents have beaks with which they grip one another. Their bodies form flat mouldings to the arris of the jamb.

the porch. Its sill level is *c.* 134" above the ground and therefore about 3' below the present floor, just the height which the window would naturally demand. This door is shown in fig. 5 and also in fig. 6, the plan of the upper stage. It will be seen it is flat-headed and has three stones in the jambs, a very unusual feature, which are irregularly laid. Internally the lintel of door shows and is in the roughest work, and moreover is only 24" above the floor (fig. 7).

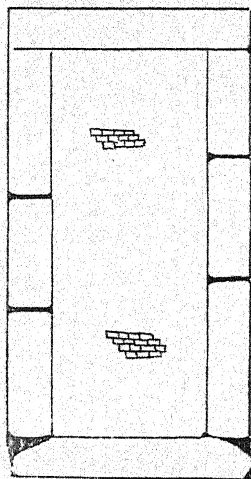


FIG. 5.

This is the conclusive argument given by Mr. Hall, showing that the door is anterior to the floor, and so to the vault, and conversely that the vault is subsequent to the door and inserted. There is much supporting evidence, which may be summed up thus, the blocking is of the small square stones of which much of the fabric of the porch is made, and is equally blackened, while the tower is not so blackened, and the position at the extreme end of the wall is most unlikely in later times, but is found at the Anglian, Deerhurst. The flat-headed door is itself an early feature of the Anglian period, and occurs in Jutish work at Canter-

bury, at St. Martin's, and Saxon work in Essex at St. Peter's on the Wall. It may be mentioned also that the door is shown in one of the Milburn photographs, and it is plain that it was in its present state anterior to 1866.

In the south wall of the upper stage (fig. 6) is a blocked window of some interest. Internally it is 30" wide and 25"

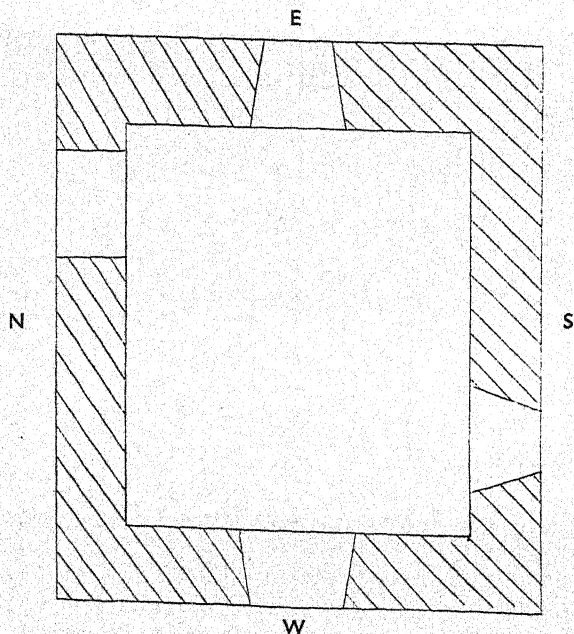


FIG. 6.

high and flat-headed with narrow plain stone dressings, while externally the lintel and sill have gone while the similar jambs remain and show it was *c.* 17" wide and 25" high. It has therefore the significant detail that there is no upward or downward splay. This window is some 20" from the present floor, and would do well to light the floor, but not to serve its normal function in relation to the present floor, and is moreover far nearer the floor than the top of the upper stage.

On the west is yet another window, fig. 6, measuring 28" across externally by 43" high, but modernized, and 33" x 60" high internally, where it has a cable moulded arris carried down the jambs which obviously equates with the other ornate work here.

ELUCIDATION.

The relation of vault and door discussed above plainly

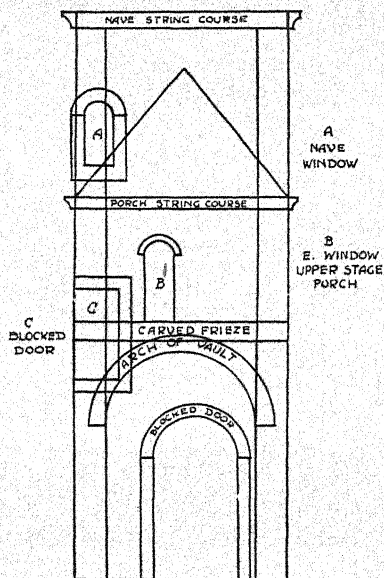


FIG. 7.

indicate two dates in the two-storied porch. On the ground floor it is to be assumed that all the present openings belong to the second date.⁷ On the upper floor, the east window and door plainly go with the early date, and so does the south window, while the west window, which upsets the early arrangements, must be late. The natural explanation of the door placed at the extreme end of the wall is to

⁷ For all show the *Romanesque anticipation*.

facilitate an altar, and the remarkable thing is that that altar must have been at the west. Also suggesting this is the blocked south window, which from its position seems to have been arranged to light a west altar, and from the coincidence of the evidences, the west altar may be assumed. The significance of the east window is hard to understand, but it is certainly an Anglian feature occurring at Brixworth and Deerhurst in much later forms. This seems to be quite the first traceable feature of the kind, and is useful as being a sign that we are dealing with an early two-storied porch.

In connection with the evidence of an altar here it is interesting to note the statement in Baldwin Brown that Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, had in his church at Seligenstadt, a *coenaculum* or upper chamber over the western choir, which contained an altar and which he used for his own accommodation during the services.⁸ It appears that during the period when this upper *porticus*, as we may call it, was in use, the arrangements on the ground floor were not altered, for the *porticus* arrangement above suggests the *porticus* arrangements below, and the technique of the inserted doors on the ground floor is quite different from that of the early upper stage.

INTERPRETATION.

We have come to the conclusion that the two-storied porch, itself not original, is of two dates. The first work marks a very decided recession from classical principles. The flat headed door, with thin dressings, plainly suggests woodwork influence, and the new feature of the arched lintel is just what a barbarian would do when building in stone. Thus we seem to have here the work of the Angles when the foreign masons had gone, and when, moreover, the controlling intention of classicism was weakened. The same may be said of the quite amazing form which the work took,

⁸ The example here suggested would much ante-date the Carolingian church.

for the new feature is practically the beginning of the tower. It is nearly 30' high, and its nature cannot be disguised by calling it a "porch." Such a feature cannot be derived from classical sources, nor either from Irish; the nearest thing being the twin staircase towers of Syria. But this is not a flanking but a central tower to the west façade, and the suggestion of Syrian origin ill accords with the obvious barbarous character of the technique. In fact we seem here once again to be forced to the conclusion that the Angles must have had some influence on their own art. In regard to the date of the work (that is of the earliest work), the identity of the fabric with that of the earlier nave makes it impossible to give a date of more than fifty years after the nave, and since some time must be allowed for the revolution of feeling here implied, we can date pretty well between 716 and 734 in the abbacy of Hwaetberht. There is also another line of thought coming to the same conclusion, viz. the first period when foreign workmen were introduced is associated with Wilfrid, Biscop and Aldhelm. They were all dead by 710. At the other end it is quite probable that the accession of Egbert to the archbishopric and the assumption of the pall in 735 marks the beginning of what may be called the second wave of classicism, no longer depending on foreign masons. It would be wise therefore on these grounds too to place the work between 710 and 735. Whether we place it from 716 to 730, or from 730 and 740 depends on what we think about Bede's silence regarding it. It is doubtful, however, whether Bede would have approved of this work, which plainly subverts the intentions of the founder, and Bede had a habit of being silent about what he disliked.

ELUCIDATION OF LATER WORK.

One thing which is obvious about the insertions in the two-storied porch is that they entirely swept away the *porticus* arrangements both on the ground floor and the upper floor. All the new openings on the ground floor are

central while the new west window on the upper floor implies that the altar had gone. It seems that the rood must belong to this later period, of which the general character is elaboration and the carved frieze, and also the hollow strings, the proof of which is interesting. If the reader will look back to fig. 1 (p. 144) he will see that in the cut stone patching associated with the hollow string inside the tower there are the marks of a gable in the ancient material. This can only mean that the porch was already standing to two stories when the patching (and hence the strings) were put in, and so the strings cannot be taken to belong to the erection of the two-storied porch any more than they can be taken to be original. The principal insertion in the porch here was doubtless the vault in the sense that this was the primary cause of rebuilding. It appears that the upper story, now reduced to only 6' 10", was much diminished in importance, as there was no effort to make a new door for it. On the other hand, the upper stage was still used and even an elaborate window put in for it. The significance of the four openings in the ground floor seems to be that a west aisle was built, and from the analogy of the Jutish Reculver, this would imply the creation of side aisles too, so that the church was surrounded with aisles. It should be noticed, too, that the rebuilding of the quoins implies that the porch had been badly ruined.

INTERPRETATION.

The character of the work here inserted is undoubtedly the most remarkable in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon architecture, and is so extraordinarily advanced that the writer proposes for it the name of the *Romanesque anticipation*. It is utterly different from the simple unassuming work with which it has been associated. Whether we look at the splendid Rood,⁹ or the double ordered arch or the array of decorated details, we find ourselves in the presence of an artist of amazing virtuosity absolutely sure of himself

⁹ In imagination of course.

and delighting in what he can do. That the character of the work as a whole is high classic is obvious, yet we see a work so unlike that of the timid copyists who built the first work here, that there is not the least hesitation in incorporating features which are very barbaric in effect. Such are the balusters and the carved jambs, and such, too, the cable moulds and arris rolls which do not come out of the classic formula of the period, but derive through the crosses no doubt and then probably from pagan work.

To establish the date of all this brilliant work is clearly a matter of great importance. That it cannot be taken to be twelfth century is suggested by its place under the eleventh-century tower and also by the incorporation of the purely barbaric details of baluster and carving. It equally cannot be late eleventh century, unless all our ideas of that age are hopelessly wrong, and still less early eleventh century. It may be mentioned that the beautiful stone-work of the vault is far beyond even the not negligible standard of the early eleventh century. Moreover, and this is probably the strongest argument, as stylistic arguments never seem to convince anyone, the ornate window on the upper stage is symmetrically placed in relation to the truncated upper stage. But whatever date the first post-Danish work was done, it included the tower, and when the tower was built the top of the porch was opened up and the new floor was at *c.* 26'.¹⁰ We must assume therefore that this amazing work is really pre-Danish in spite of all appearances, and a sign of pure Anglian work. It cannot be earlier than 760 from its relation to the earlier work giving time for the new revolution to take place, while there are many arguments to put it about 800. First of all there is the fact that the vault is naturally equated with the disastrous Danish raids of 794, so that there is no doubt at all that that is the best date for the vault. Next come two arguments connected with history. It is generally agreed that a great change.

¹⁰ Perhaps: but certainly at a height which makes this window out of all relation.

came over the north and over England in the early years of the ninth century, and that it was then that England began to lose her moorings and to cease her tutelage to traditions which had governed her since 675. The written record of the north ceased to be kept about 803; and it was about this period that the crosses and manuscripts begin to tail off badly. The same thing is seen in the field of learning. It might almost seem as if English learning migrated with Alcuin. We may think therefore that the work here discussed lies somewhere between 760 and about 810. Granted this, then there are still reasons why we should put it rather towards the end of the period than towards the beginning. Firstly, it contains very noticeable tendencies to barbarism, of an extremely dangerous kind for a civilized people, for whom flirtations with barbarism are death. That is more probable at the end of the series, when on the threshold of the strange but unmistakable collapse of classicism in England, than early. For the kind of barbarism flirted with in the early period is shown us in the work of what may be called the *second period*, and it is plain, simple, austere, sober and quite unlike the brilliant and showy barbaric work of the *third period*. It is plain that barbarism itself had changed out of all knowledge during the interval between the second and third periods of architecture here, and that again is an argument for a date towards the end of the possible period. Attention, too, must be called to the religious values of this ornate work. Baldwin Brown has called it the work of a "wealthy connoisseur," and whether it was so or not, he has hit on the essential character which is secular rather than religious. The carved image is really a sign of a weakening religious sense, and here again the late eighth century is better suited than the early part. It is possible that the Rood had something to do with the triumph of the image-worshipping party towards the end of the century, and we may perhaps consider that while the issue of the dispute was uncertain, the assertion of the image, which must have been very offensive to the members

of iconoclastic sympathies, in this very blatant way, would be unlikely.

A word must now be said about the sculpture here involved. The ornament, in the form of cable arrises and roll mouldings, is well known on the crosses, the date of which is still extremely uncertain, depending on *a priori* theories of artistic development. The roll-mould occurs on the Bewcastle cross, the cable-mould perhaps first on the Eashy cross, and the carved rood on the Ruthwell cross. Collingwood, with far the most intimate personal knowledge of the crosses, put this work in late eighth century, which, of course, would suit the writer's views extremely well. Brondsted put them early eighth, but the validity of his theory of development has here been questioned. Baldwin Brown put them in the seventh century. It is evident therefore that at present sculpture cannot help us. One thing, however, must be mentioned, and that is that Collingwood dated the serpents on the jambs out of the Anglian period altogether. It is doubtful whether this need be accepted. He was obviously influenced by the fact that the serpent is not an Anglian form on the crosses at any date. However, what was proper on the crosses need not have been proper on the church. The animal is the same type as that on the Colerne cross, but more purely serpentine. It certainly argues Irish influence. The date of the Colerne cross is equally disputed, Brondsted putting it to seventh and Baldwin Brown to tenth century, but the fact that so great an authority as Brondsted should put it in the seventh or early eighth century proves that it was possible then in general type.

We can probably assume therefore a date about 800 for this ornate work of the third period. Such an assumption may be wrong like any other assumption, but in the present light of the evidence no better conclusion seems available. From the architectural point of view the dating thus given to the string course is as important as any other consequence; with it will go plinths. Much of the work is *sui*

generis, but it is most interesting to see that this work of the *Romanesque anticipation* belongs to the age of Alcuin, not of Theodore.

SUMMARY.

It may be convenient now to see where we have got to before going on to the post-Danish work. It is claimed that there is adequate evidence to prove three dates of building, the first being Biscop's, the second from *c.* 716 to *c.* 736, and the third being probably about 800.

It is claimed that Biscop's church was like that at St. Peter's on the Sea, Bradwell, both from Bede's evidence, which mentions or implies east, west and south *porticus*, and also from the analogy of remains at St. Peter's, Bywell. Other hypotheses are far from ruled out, nor is it suggested that the view here taken is necessarily final. New evidence might at any time involve a revision.

It is claimed that we can assume that the second work consisted in the raising of the porch by a stage, and the third by the insertion of advanced details, including the vault, and by the abandonment of the early arrangement of *porticus*.

It is claimed similarly that we can assume the consequences which flow from this view. Perhaps the most important concern methodology. The assumption that, other things being equal, difference of technique means difference of date, is definitely assisted. On the contrary, the assumption that we need expect one date only in an Anglo-Saxon church, and very occasionally two, when one will be early and the other late, is materially hindered. There are four waves of building here before 810.

The inferences of greatest importance in regard to architectural development are that the one-storied porch need not be expected before 680 nor the two-storied porch before about 720. Conversely, the building without a porch should not be expected after 680, nor that with a one-storied porch after *c.* 720. We are offered in fact a yardstick with which

to measure development. Next in importance might be put the placing of the hollow moulded impost or string *c.* 800.

In regard to art-history we are given a definite sequence independent of theories of stylistic development. We get first of all a classic phase depending on imported masons, second a reversion to much more barbaric forms, when presumably the imported masons had gone, thirdly a wonderful development of what must be assumed to be native classic work, which is marked, however, by striking barbarism in certain details and also by amazing Romanesque anticipations. It would, of course, be most improbable that this sequence was unconnected with the contemporary sculpture, for art history is a unity in essence. We must say therefore that the sequence here indicated is vastly different from the majestic unrolling of classic into barbaric postulated by Brondsted in his book *Early English Ornament*. We may perhaps ask, "Does nature really proceed in a continuous development? Is not a process of gain and loss, forward and backward, really nearer to the true biological processes?" It would be extremely interesting to interpret the crosses in the light of the sequence here indicated, but that, of course, is far outside the scope of this study. What must be said, however, is that in the light of the developmental sequence here indicated we cannot assume that the features appearing in *c.* 800 had come to stay. We cannot say for instance; "The hollow moulded string course appeared about 800 and can be expected to develop continuously from that date." What we have rather to ask ourselves is this: "In what direction did development proceed after about 800? Was there a development of classicism, or was there now a second reversion to barbarism, which, of course, would be a different barbarism to the first barbarism of the early eighth century, for history never exactly repeats itself?" The answer to these questions cannot be sought here.

Finally, the evidence elucidated here undoubtedly bear

on the vexed question of the relations of classic and barbaric in the developmental process. The subject is too big and too controversial to enter upon here, but the writer cannot refrain from pointing out that it is not a little disconcerting to the apostles of the unilateral classic development to find that the most pregnant development of the whole series we have discussed, namely the tower form, occurs right in the middle of the barbaric phase, and, moreover, that the second most striking development, namely the curious Romanesque anticipations, occurs at a period when there is a very strong admixture of pure barbaric detail in the work.

SECTION C. THE TOWER.

Our task is now to elucidate the fine Anglo-Danish belfry tower, which can be seen rising from the porch on which it is built in plate IV, fig. 4. It is evident that here we are at the end of a long developmental process which we saw beginning so far back in the barbaric phase of the eighth century. Such a tower is neither classic nor barbaric, but the product of the fused style which we call Romanesque. The belfry tower here seen with the un-recessed double-headed belfry window is one of the most characteristic products of Anglian Romanesque. Before discussing it a word must be said about axioms. The axiom of Baldwin Brown, which I have ventured to call rather narrow, was that the Anglo-Saxons had no part in the general developmental process of Europe in the Dark Ages, and therefore that these towers can only come in with the Normans. Faced with the difficulty that they are quite un-Norman in detail, he compromises and ascribes them all to the Confessor. Sir Alfred Clapham, on the other hand, frees us from this narrow outlook and treats the Anglo-Saxons as an integral part of European development, although rather behind hand. Thus he makes the English belfry tower begin about a century after the Italian, in the late tenth century. This view, with its characteristic breadth, clearly needs implementing, and this is the work

of the specialist in a given field. The ensuing study may be regarded as the beginning of the process of implementing the wide view handed down to us by study of the actual monuments.

Let us first begin by assessing the facts. The tower is built on the porch and shares its ground plan, fig. 3 (p. 155). In its (plate IV, fig. 4) elevation it consists externally of a floor made by taking down the porch roof and carrying up the wall to the level of the nave string course. Here the first added stage of the tower finishes and is marked by a square-cut string course. Above this another storey of about the same height, viz. 17', is added, and finishes again with a square string course; then comes another stage containing the belfry windows, the upper part of which has been extensively rebuilt. Now the remarkable thing is that the evidence of the floor levels internally do not correspond to this stage division at all.

Internally there is the sign of an early looking blocked door in the E. wall, not quite central, at 26', and above this on the level of the string course at 31' there are apparently signs of another door. Neither of these doors have kept any of their dressings, and the indications are but faint. It was Mr. Hall who called attention to these doors, and as he saw the place under more favourable conditions than anyone else, it is obvious that their existence cannot be entirely ignored. Moreover, beside the lower door there appears to be the mark of an opening, of which some of the dressing survives, and is of narrow stone on end, not in the Romanesque manner, whereas the upper door, if the indications are really such, had jambs in the ordinary Romanesque manner. Next comes the present third stage with a floor at 35', and the old walling of the gable of the nave terminates at c. 42', above which comes the new E. tower walling in fairly good technique. Centrally placed in this east wall of the tower walling thus added, and on the lowest course, is a Maltese cross, which was doubtless placed there when the tower was added, as a sign of luck, much as a

horse-shoe might be put in to-day. Perhaps it also indicated a consecrated building. This cross has a central round, with lightly hollow curved expanding arms to each side.¹¹ An identical type exists somewhere in Billingham tower, which will have to be checked up, and possibly elsewhere too. Finally comes the belfry tower stage from c. 46'.

FABRIC AND QUOINS.

The fabric of the super-added tower is in beds of roughly cut stone measuring 33" for four beds and not of the long type. On the whole this work is much better than would be expected, and while it is not ashlar, yet it is not much degraded, and contrasts strongly with those fabrics, irregular sizes, lengths and bed heights improperly bedded which are sometimes put down to the late tenth century. The quoins are from their position not measurable, but they are of normal size, not megalithic, and with the alternate rhythm both irregular and also exceptionally unemphasized. In fact, prior to study in detail, the writer thought the type was a non-alternate clasping quoin, which does exist in Anglian times. One thing which can be stated categorically is that whoever built these quoins did not build those either of the ultimate or the penultimate period at Jarrow; they are in different worlds. Unfortunately for our peace of mind, we cannot be sure that the fabric of the tower is uniform throughout. The belfry stage to-day has a fabric measuring 26" for four beds internally and far more irregular in the beds. Externally it appears to have been renewed, and there is presumably just the possibility that the whole belfry stage has been reset in modern times. In regard to its quoins, these too are largely modern, but there remain four stones towards the bottom which appear to be absolutely identical with those of the rest of the tower.

OPENINGS.

There is a remarkable dearth of openings. In fact the only ancient opening below the belfry stage is on the west

¹¹ It is in clear relief on a square bed.

face, and lit the third floor. Externally this single-splayed lancet is cut from a monolith, but internally it is flat-headed and has jambs in the ordinary Romanesque manner. It is seen in plate iv, fig. 4. The belfry windows are characteristically Anglo-Danish, as shown on plate iv, fig. 4. The opening measures 28" \times 57", and the arch is in arched lintels measuring 19" \times 13". The jambs are Romanesque in four stones and have hollow-moulded imposts, and the shaft is a plain cylinder with neither cap nor base. The purlin is also hollow moulded at the lower arris. Externally the ancient hood has been restored. It is a Mercian hood, carried down the jambs. There are cubical corbels just above impost level and sill level, and doubtless originally at the crown of the arch also. The sound holes are restored, perhaps on the original lines. They are single-splayed port-holes, one on each face.

ELUCIDATION.

This tower was evidently run up on the old porch, but the nature of the arrangements is puzzling. The second floor is not original at 35', the lighting of the second stage so obtained being by a window cut in behind the string course at 31' on the south wall.

In the first arrangement was there a floor at 26', or was it at 31'? Mr. Hall was positive that he could see the put-log holes for the floor at 31', which he contends was supported by the string course on the east wall. With this, of course, agrees the evidence suggesting an east door at 31'. The floor of the belfry stage seems to have been always where it is at present. The difficulty, of course, is the apparent remains of a door with sill at 26'. Not only the present writer, but also Mr. Hall found signs of this. It is clear that a floor level of 26' could not have co-existed with that at 31'. Therefore, if this door is accepted, either we have some traces of a tower anterior to that of the present belfry tower, or else the 31' floor level was inserted at some time between the building of the tower and the creation of the present

floor levels. This latter assumption is far from being as easy as it appears, for the floor at 26' makes a second stage of only 12' high, and this is quite wrong for the period when these belfry towers were a-building, moreover the arrangement does not correspond with the external strings. These strings usually were meant to mark a stage of the building, and the arrangement which has a second floor at 31', making a stage of 17' high, and corresponds to the external strings is the one which must naturally date with the building of the tower. We must premise therefore, that the present tower may not have been the first to have been run up from the porch, but may replace something earlier, of which, if it existed, all trace has been lost except perhaps the enigmatic doorway at 26' in the east wall, and the opening beside it.

In regard to the change of fabric in the belfry stage, this may be due to modern interference. If this is not accepted, then the belfry stage is later, but the identity of quoins shows that the same person who built the belfry stage built the tower. Finally we may say that the doorway evidence is so slight that we cannot base any arguments on it, and while the original floor at 31' can be assumed from other evidence, the existence of an early tower cannot be assumed. If there was such a tower, the second floor of 12' high implies that it was not a very high tower, and the most probable guess is that it might have been a three-storey tower, with floors of 14', 12' and 12', making 38' in all. This would be called by the architectural writers a three-storied porch. We may say, therefore, that there are very faint traces which may suggest that there may have been something which might have been a three-storied porch, anterior to the present tower, and the little opening at the side of the door may be the remains of something which might have been an altar, as at Skipwith, or a squint as at Bosham and Deerhurst. In fact we may leave this evidence with a question: Was the two-storied porch raised into a three-storied porch in the ninth century?

DATES.

Symeon of Durham makes some remarks which have been taken to imply that there was no stone building and no revival of the monasteries between 875 and 1074, when the Mercian monks headed by Aldwine restored the sacred rites.

He states: (1) That after the pagan invasion all the churches were reduced to ashes. (2) That Christianity nearly perished. (3) That no churches were rebuilt except in wood.

It is a little surprising that these statements have been given the interpretation they have, since they cannot possibly have the meaning they are given, for (1) Some churches certainly survived the Danish raids. (2) The bishoprics were not interrupted. (3) Stone buildings began at least by 1000 at Durham.

It seems amazing that the lurid tales of destruction told by the Norman historians about the events from 867 to 873 are treated as evidence. In regard to Symeon, his remarks, if they apply at all, apply to the first years after the Danish invasions.

It is, of course, quite certain that Aldwine found the sacred sites in ruin and desolation, but this could be blamed on the raids of the Conqueror and Malcolm five years previously. The evidence for the restoration of the monasteries has been given by Boyle and others, and in any case the evidence for the resumption of stone building by at least 1000 is so strong and the probability of the restoration of the sacred sites at an early date so great, that the writer hardly thinks it necessary to spend much space proving the possibility, and, moreover, what is proposed here is to see where the architectural evidence leads, and the writer by no means admits the right of historians to forbid this evidence to be put forward on the ground that it conflicts with the historical evidence. Perhaps it is the historical evidence which needs revision.

The first evidence to be called concerns the relation of

the tower to the wall against which it is built. This evidence is highly complex, and it can only be hoped that clarity has been reached. If fig. 1 (p. 144) is consulted it will be seen that the wall has the string course cut away, while the quoin has no string course. Admitting that the two top stones of the N.W. quoin are rebuilt, it is impossible to suppose that the very conservative restorers of 1866 interfered with the arrangements they found. Now the wall with the string course in it seems itself to be a restoration externally to the tower, and the alteration of fabric in it at *c.* 26' does not correspond to what is under the tower. The inference seems to be that the wall was twice extensively restored while the tower was standing. The cause of these restorations would include the destruction by Malcolm in 1070, while the earlier restoration would have to be assumed to be the product of either 867 or else of 995, when the see had to be moved.

We cannot assume that the tower was standing before 867, although we must just bear in mind that enigmatic evidence suggesting that there may have been a three-storied porch anterior to that date. We are therefore forced to the assumption that the earlier restoration, in which the string course was kept, was the result of events happening in 995, and that the tower was standing at that date. Now we cannot assume that the tower predates Aldhune, since as far as we know he was the first to build in stone after the Danish ravages. Therefore it would seem as if we must assume that the tower was built while the bishopric was still at Chester-le-Street, and can be closely dated to the years between 990 and 995. This is what we must assume, but that little piece of evidence suggesting the three-storied porch makes us very wary of putting full faith in the assumption. We would certainly like to see this tower as one monument of great work done by Aldhune in the north, and eventually this might be proved.

We can also, in dating, take cognizance of other evidence, viz. the quoins are not the work of Aldwine; moreover, the

undoubted work of Aldwine, viz. the bases of the chancel arch, has bulb bases equating with work at Jarrow, and fifty years at least in advance typologically of the work in the tower.

INTERPRETATION.

The character of this work is not in doubt; it is Romanesque and fully so, and we are forced to assume therefore that the Romanesque movement was well under way in the closing years of the tenth century in the north. The Romanesque movement in England is historically connected with the monastic movement, and that a person who built this tower would, if he was able, try and revive the ancient monastic traditions and sites is inherently probable. In face of the public opinion of the north, the restoration of Benedictine monasticism in the north in c. 1000 was no doubt impossible, and what Aldhune would probably have done, if he did it, would be to put in seculars, but anyhow to revive the old associations. There is just this to be mentioned also. The worthy Symeon, with all his monkish prejudices, could not help respecting Aldhune, but he seems not to have really approved of him; his enthusiasm is reserved for the monkish successor, Eadmund, who no doubt did what he could to revive monasticism. The disfavour in which his two successors Egelric and Egelwine lie with Symeon suggest that they allowed the work to lapse. If, therefore, a second hypothesis is wanted for the work here, the bishopric of Eadmund has historical considerations in support of it.

Admitting the Romanesque character of the work in general, some comments may now be offered. The work is good for what one would expect, and we must assume that this regular work marks the turn of the century. Similarly, it is suggested that regular side alternate quoins cannot be placed at this date. The dearth of windows suggests that this was a mark of the early belfry towers and entirely supports the suggestion of the writer that the small windows

at St. Andrew's, Bywell, are insertions (*Arch. Ael.*, 1946).

The hollow mouldings of the imposts and purlins suggest some sort of continuity with the work of what we have called the *third period* in c. 800. It would be quite easy, probably by a close scrutiny of the Anglo-Danish towers, to give a date for the period in which the hollow mould gave way to the straight chamfer. It was before the Conquest, as Bywell St. Andrew already has the straight chamfer. The absence of a tower arch is primarily due to the previous existence of a porch, yet this evidence supports much other evidence that the tower arch was not thought of much importance in the early phase of the belfry towers. Had it been considered so, probably the early porch door and the window above it would have been replaced by some monstrous arch as at Corbridge. The question of who started the tower arch and how it arose is not worked out, but it probably could be. The Mercian hood is in contradistinction to the general character of the work; it is a barbaric feature, and it is somewhat doubtful whether the marked barbaric detail in the north went far into the eleventh century; certainly by Kirkdale in 1056 it is unthinkable. I should be inclined to take this feature as marking a date at least before 1020, but again the history of the feature is not made out. What induced Aldhune to take up this southern and barbaric feature we do not know, but it became, or was, normal to the early northern towers. Another noticeable feature is the absence of the external doorway to the third floor as at Bywell, Billingham and Ovingham. Whether this indicates a later date, or the existence of previous porch arrangements, or whether the outer door comes in the middle of the tower development we cannot say, because it has not been worked out. The belfry tower is one of the darkest parts of Anglo-Saxon architecture in both senses, because no doubt it is difficult of access, as it was intended to be when it was built. We can hardly doubt that the third stage of these towers under the belfry stage was intended as a sacristy, where the treasures of the church could

be moved in times of danger, and which was difficult to get at or to burn because of its height from the ground. There is a description in the Chronicle of robbers stealing precious goods from the upper part of the tower at Peterborough, *s.a.* 1070.

I would like to conclude by thanking the Rev. T. Romans for his kind loan of the figs. 1, 3 and 4 on plate IV, and to mention that my regular illustrator being unavoidably absent, some indulgence is begged for the other figures, though they are believed to be adequate to their purpose. I wish to express my sense of gratitude to the Editor, who has borne with much patience the almost entire rewriting of the manuscript after the discovery of the new evidence from Mr. Milburn, and whose kindness has been inexhaustible. Thanks are also due to the vicar of Monkwearmouth, the Rev. J. M. Scott, M.A., who has facilitated the study of the church, in which he takes a great interest, and there can be no doubt that this wonderful old building has passed into good hands.

It is hoped that increasing knowledge brings increasing reverence, a faith in which the writer always works.

ADDENDUM.

The report of Messrs. Milburn on the work done in 1924 is mainly concerned with the details of pointing and grouting, but there are embedded some important references.

1. It is confirmed that the view taken in the text that the porch was not bonded into the nave is correct.

2. A remarkably interesting statement concerns the plaster removed from the upper parts of the tower. It runs as follows: "With respect to the inside of the tower, above the floor over the barrel vault of the porch, the whole of the walls from top to bottom were plastered, which was either black with age, or had been done with some form of colour wash. On sounding this plaster we found that a very large part of it was loose."

This statement confirms the view that the blocked door in the

north wall, which was behind this plaster, had not been opened for some time. An interesting fact is that the vault and walls of Wilfrid's crypt at Ripon also has an ancient colour wash of a dark colour. It is suggested there that the funnels of the lamp recesses were put in when the wash was added, and as they are of the same form as those at Hexham, this would suggest a very early date. The writer can only regard it as a catastrophe that the plaster should have been disposed of without ascertaining what the colouring was really due to, but the blame does not lie with Messrs. Milburn. It is extremely improbable that the plaster was black with age, since the outer stonework is, in the upper part of the tower, as yet unblackened. It might, however, have been black with smoke from a Danish fire, and it is a great pity that we cannot know for certain.

3. "In examining the inside of the east wall of the tower we noticed that there had been practically an opening left where the large figure is built into the outside, and the stonework had been backed up behind the figure."

This fact certainly suggests that the figure was inserted as the evidence in the text assumes. It would not be the normal way to make a hole in the wall, put the carved figure through to the outer face, and back up the stonework behind it. In fact this piece of evidence alone would force the assumption that the carved rood was inserted.

4. "We may say that the springing of the vault arch is cut into the tower wall."

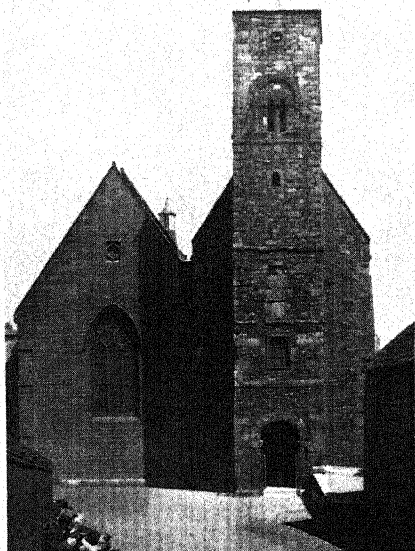
This suggests that the vault is inserted.

5. The balusters of the nave west windows were turned round in 1866.

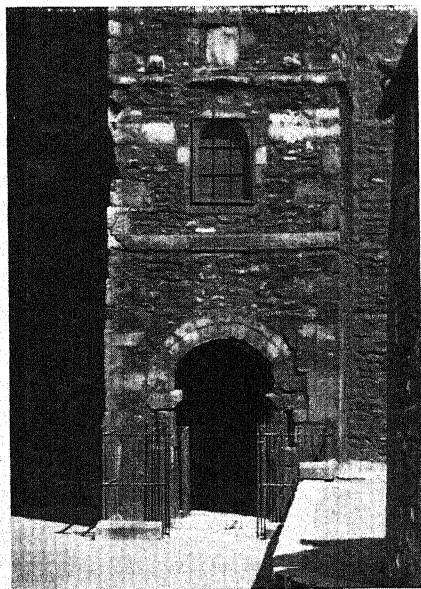
Messrs. Milburn also made a cast of the baluster in the nave window.



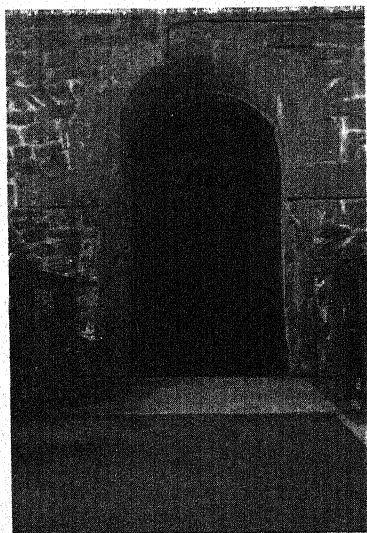
3. North jamb of porch W. arch.



4. Tower from west.



1. Porch from west.



2. West door of nave from east.

VII.—A NOTE UPON TWO HELMETS FROM THE
TAYLOR COLLECTION IN THE LAING
ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM,
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

The helmets illustrated on plates v and vi and described in this article are part of an important collection of arms and armour which has recently been bequeathed to the Laing Municipal Art Gallery and Museum by the late Mr. Evelyn Edmund Percy Taylor. He wished it to be known as "The Henry Edmund Taylor (Whickham) Collection" in memory of his father, who was mainly responsible for bringing the collection together. It consists of some five hundred objects, and includes swords, halberds, cross-bows, helmets, armour, powder horns, flintlocks, pistols, etc.

There are 17 helmets in the collection; all in a good state of preservation and of considerable educational interest. The two examples chosen for the purposes of this article are comparatively rare, and therefore of special value from the historical point of view.

C. BERNARD STEVENSON, *Curator*.

PLATE V.

This close helmet is a good example of South German make of the middle of the sixteenth century, decorated with etched bands of foliage, birds and strap-work of a not unusual pattern. It will be noticed that the holes for lacing the lining have brass washers which is often found on helmets of good quality of this date. The gorget plates have been added and a hole pierced in the crown when the helmet was adapted for funeral purposes in England in the

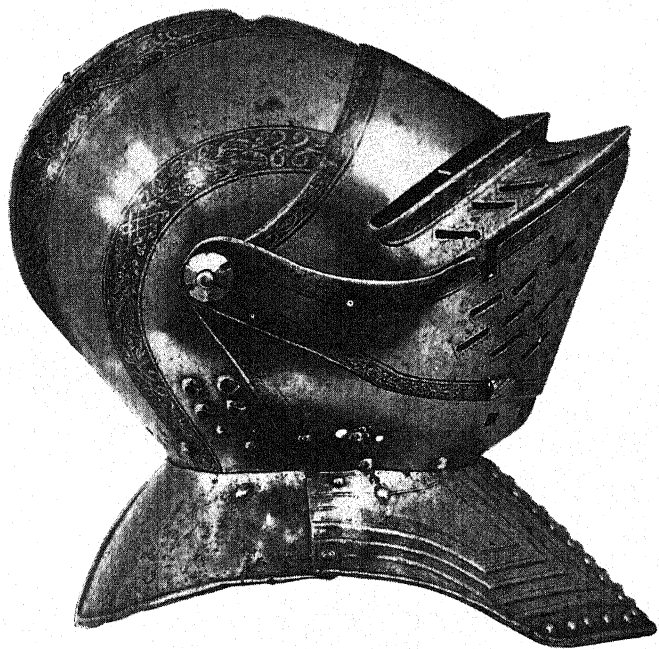
seventeenth century. The back gorget plate is rough and plain; the front gorget plate, which is decorated with raised bands and rivet heads, possibly comes from a pikeman's armour.

PLATE VI.

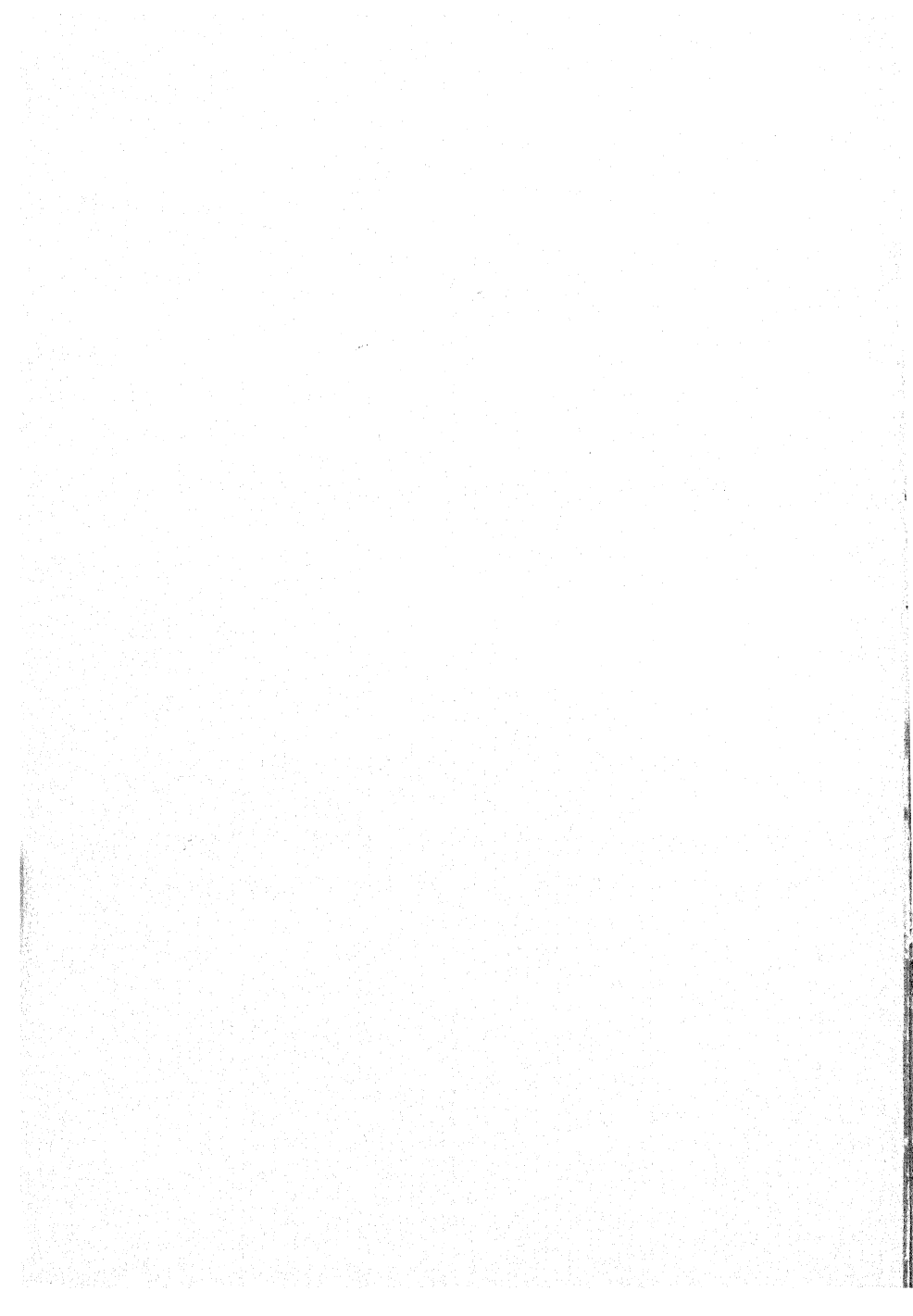
This morion is North Italian of the second half of the sixteenth century, with bands etched with formal ornament including a female figure beneath a vase with foliage and grotesques. The four panels of the sides are decorated with cartouches containing heroic heads. It was probably formerly blued and the etching gilt, and this may still be the case, though I cannot be certain from the photograph.

JAMES G. MANN,

*Director S.A., Master of the Armouries,
Tower of London, Keeper of Wallace
Collection.*



CLOSE HELMET OF MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY. SOUTH GERMAN MAKE.





ITALIAN MORION OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

VIII.—A MEDLEVAL SITE IN WEARDALE.

By E. J. W. HILDYARD AND JOHN CHARLTON.

PART I.

By E. J. W. HILDYARD.

It is intended to give here a preliminary account of a small excavation undertaken last year. For reasons that will be explained later the site proved of unexpected importance, and as further digging was obviously desirable it has been thought better to defer a full description of the results until the main deposit has been more completely excavated. Digging has, in fact, been resumed on a larger scale this year, and the number and variety of finds have already been more than doubled.

Last year I had the assistance of my friend and colleague, Major W. V. Wade, F.S.A. My wife, Mrs. B. M. Howard, and Miss Williamson also gave assistance, and part-time labour was provided by two stalwarts of the Home Guard, Mr. J. E. Reed and Mr. J. V. Hogarth. I must also gratefully acknowledge the indulgence of the farmer, Mr. William Bainbridge of Park House, who gave permission to dig and bore with the dilatory methods necessitated by other calls on my time. My grateful thanks are also due to Mr. William Bulmer, for cleaning the small objects and drawing them and the pottery, and who helped in other ways; and finally to Mr. J. Charlton, without whose assistance I would not have attempted to write on a period outside my usual range.

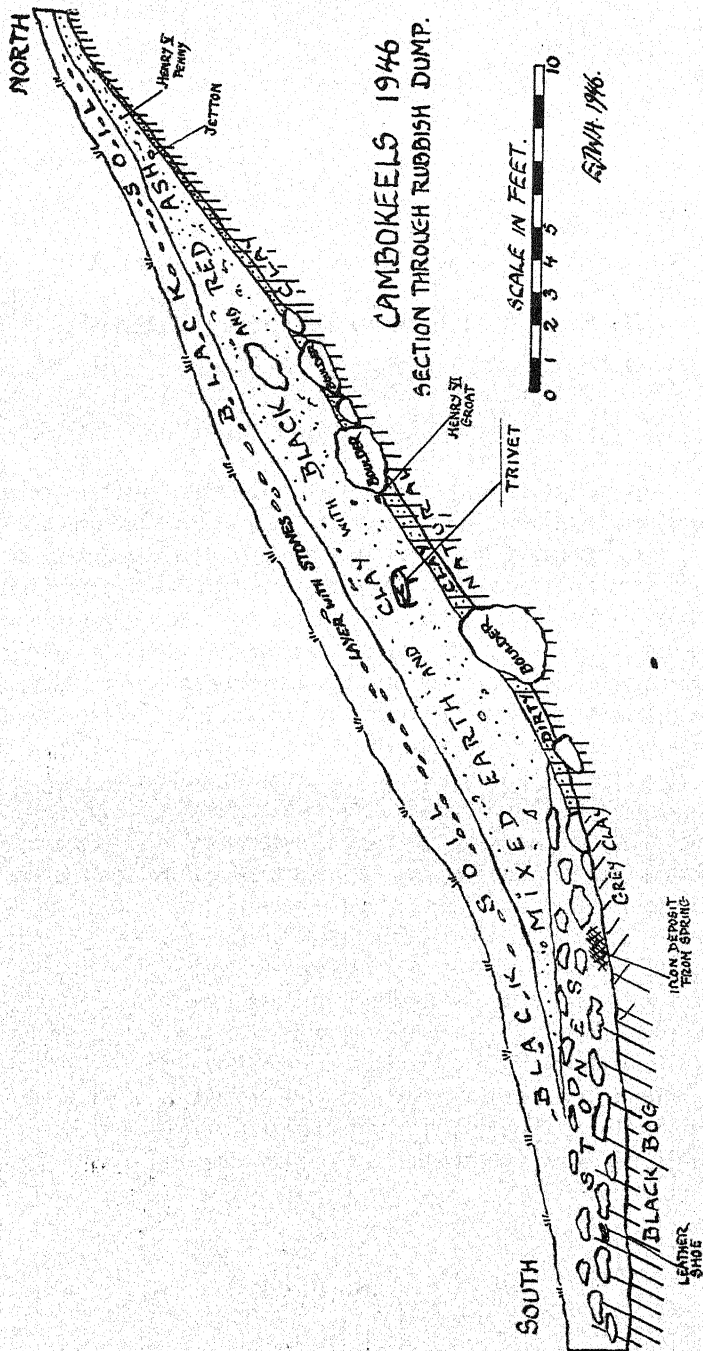


FIG. I.

THE SITE.

When I came to live in Weardale, twelve years ago, I began to look round for sites that might repay investigation, and one of the first to catch my attention was the "camp" marked on the six-inch Ordnance Survey¹ near Cambokeels mine, midway between Eastgate and Westgate. The site is a small plateau, just above the 800 ft. contour, between the main road and the river, on which side the ground falls sharply away into a bog. In 1936 I visited the site with my friend Col. O. P. Serocold, C.M.G., F.S.A. He noticed that the soil from rabbit scrapes on one part of the steep bank was unusually dark, and this, combined with the position of the bank, suggested the presence of a rubbish dump from the "camp" above. One afternoon we dug two trial holes near the bottom of the slope and found quite a quantity of mediæval green-glazed pottery. Afterwards Col. Serocold suggested that this might be the site of Edward III's camp in 1327 when his unsuccessful attempt to cut off a large marauding expedition of Scots led by the Earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas resulted in the Treaty of Northampton, when the independence of Scotland was recognized and Robert Bruce acknowledged as its lawful king.²

It is assumed that the Scottish camp was somewhere on the Billing hills south of the river, but the current assumption³ that Edward's camp on the north side was on the ledge above Old Park House, where there are still earthworks to be seen, is open to more question. Describing Edward's camp Hutchinson⁴ says: "On Stanhope Park is the vestige of a regular camp in a strong situation at a place now called Parkhouse Pasture about two⁵ miles above Stanhope; the

¹ Edition of 1923. Durham Sheet XXIII S.E.

² This expedition has been described in detail by Froissart, Leland, Holmshead, Hutchinson, Scott and others.

³ By J. J. Graham in *Weardale Past and Present*, and others locally.

⁴ Hutchinson's *History of Durham* (1794), vol. III, p. 285.

⁵ Stanhope is nearly five miles to the east.

south side or intrenchment is about seventy paces in length on the brink of a very steep slope towards the river at the foot of which is a morass grown here and there with a few straggling alders⁶ and extending itself the whole width of the camp to the river's brink from which the camp is distant 70 yards;⁷ the slope of the hill turns almost at right angles round the south-west corner of the plain and forms the west side of the ground about 40 paces in length, but terminates in a horizontal plane before it reaches the north-west corner of the camp. The north side of the intrenchment is about 70 paces in length. There is little appearance remaining of a ditch and the mound is very low, but at the distance of about 60 paces in front is another morass⁸ which extends itself to the front of those steep hills which inclose the dale. The east side of the intrenchment is 60 paces in length and guarded with a very deep ditch.⁹ In the south-east and south-west corners appear the foundations of some kind of buildings but probably they were more modern." This is a very accurate description of what Cambokeels camp must have appeared like before the addition of modern features. Of its name William Morley Egglestone¹⁰ says, "A mile and a half west of Eastgate we have the interesting CAMMOCK EALE, locally known as Cammo Keel, for the derivation of which we have the adjectival component from the Celtic *cam*, crooked, and the ending *og*, diminutive, Celtic *ock*, hence the little crooked isle." Originally the site, nearly surrounded by bog or river, could fairly have been called almost an island.

THE EXCAVATION.

Last year I decided to see if further digging of the rub-

⁶ There is still a grove of alders in the bog.

⁷ The old park site is some 500 yards from the river.

⁸ Mr. W. Morley of Eastgate informs me that when the main road was made foundations here had to be dug down through many feet of peat. The fields on the north of the road are still boggy.

⁹ Probably destroyed by the cutting of the Heights Quarry incline.

¹⁰ *Weardale Names of Field and Fell*, 1886, p. 77.

bish dump would confirm the suggested identification of the site. It was, however, very soon obvious that it had had a longer occupation than Edward's brief sojourn, and while nothing has been found to support the theory, all the finds being a century or more later, there is nothing to exclude this earlier visit. Tactically it is a likely place, with a good spring of water nearby, and it is quite likely that the six days spent by the royal army have left no recoverable traces.

The rubbish dump was selected for excavation because it was thought that only here would dateable material be found owing to the temporary nature of the occupation. A double trench 10 ft. wide was driven through the centre of the deposit, which appeared to be roughly triangular in shape. The general appearance of the deposit is shown in the section (fig. 1), but as might be expected in a rubbish tip there was no real stratification. For this reason it was not thought necessary to remove the soil in layers as the steep slope would have made this very much more laborious than cutting a series of flat sections. At the same time note was taken of the levels at which pottery and objects were found, but there was nothing to differentiate the strata; the same types of pottery and objects were found at all levels and from top to bottom of the heap. The small objects were most numerous in the upper part of the mound and at a depth of just over one foot, but they occurred at all levels down to undisturbed. The heavy pieces of pottery, handles and bases tended to appear in the bog at the bottom whither they had rolled down the slope, but they were also found at other places. The suggestion that the deposit is a homogeneous one covering a comparatively short period of time is confirmed by the evidence of the objects themselves, and especially by the location of the most important finds, which were two coins.

One of these, a Henry V penny,¹¹ was found near the top of the bank not many inches from the surface. The

¹¹ Archbishop Bowet of York (Brooke, Class G) c. 1420-22.

other, a Henry VI groat¹² was found almost on the undisturbed clay beneath 4 ft. of rubbish in the middle of the slope. At its deepest the deposit was over 5 ft. thick and the trench was some 40 ft. long. It was not possible to go very deep into the bog because of the water level during a wet summer.

About 1,200 cubic feet of soil were examined, but even so the number and variety of finds were remarkable. Apart from the great quantity of pottery there was a wide range of other types of object including a jetton or counter,¹³ part of a bronze cauldron with iron chain for suspension, a tripod, a bronze tube, a lead or silver finger ring and several horseshoes and spurs.

These tell the story of a wealthy people who could afford to lose silver coins¹⁴ on a rubbish heap, owned horses and expensive equipment and were educated enough to use jettons. There is no record of any manor or great house at this spot and no local tradition connected with the place. In fact this remote part of Weardale is known to have been practically uninhabited at this period. It seems therefore that the presence of this rich hoard of objects can be accounted for only by connecting it with the bishop of Durham's hunting activities. Mr. Charlton points out that the site itself corresponds to what is known of mediæval hunting lodges, and it is, of course, well known that one of the bishop's deer parks¹⁵ was situated in this part of Weardale, a fact still commemorated in the names of the villages at each end of the park, Eastgate and Westgate. There was a castle at Westgate which might provide amenities for the visiting bishop, but Cambokeels would have been more convenient as it is situated near the middle of the park and accords with the documentary evidence set

¹² A Calais groat of the Two Annulet Coinage 1422-27.

¹³ For calculations at a time when Roman numerals still had to be used.

¹⁴ A groat at this time was the price of a fat sheep.

¹⁵ Large sections of the wall on the south side of the river pass through my land and can still be recognized by their unusual thickness and absence of coping.

out in part II of this paper. Gate Castle, thought to be the central gate, remains of which still stand, is less than half a mile away on the opposite bank. According to Graham,¹⁶ in the sixteenth century there was plenty of hunting in Weardale forest and there were 200 deer in the upper park. The sport seems, however, to have declined towards the end of the century and the area was disafforested by 1511.¹⁷ As will be seen later there seems at present to be a slight conflict in the dating evidence, a few pieces of imported Siegburg pottery and the jetton¹⁸ being considerably later than the coins and other objects as a whole. But this may be resolved this year. At any rate the hunting-lodge hypothesis seems the only one to account for the finds, but it remains for the spade to prove this by work on the plateau itself.

Perhaps the greatest importance of this site to mediæval archæology generally is as a type site for pottery and objects, of many of which there are no dated examples.

PART II.

BY JOHN CHARLTON.

THE BISHOP'S FOREST OF WEARDALE.

Although the royal forests have been carefully studied in their legal and social aspects, less work has been done on their extent and day-to-day organization; and comparatively little is known of the structures¹ and earthworks² which were essential to them. Still less is known of the hunting-

¹⁶ loc. cit., p. 39.

¹⁷ See *post*, p. 189, n. 8.

¹⁸ Dated by Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum to the early sixteenth century.

¹ Except in the case of some of the royal hunting-lodges, which later grew to importance as royal palaces.

² Sections of the boundary-dikes which generally enclosed deer-forests have occasionally been recorded: e.g. in Lancashire (Rawstorne, *Gamonia* (1905 edn.), p. 36).

grounds of the bishops of Durham : there are, in fact, very few references to them in the studies of mediæval forests, as if the authors fought shy of the peculiarities of the Palatinate. It is not proposed, in this brief note, to attempt to remedy this deficiency, but rather, with the Cambokeels site as the occasion, to point to a possible line for local research and to suggest that the study of this site may have an important bearing on a not insignificant part of the history of Durham.

In forest organization and laws the Palatinate seems in general to have followed the Crown, as in other spheres. Thus the obligations of those living or holding land in or near the bishop's forest of Weardale were not very different from those of their counterparts in say the New Forest district. The bishop, too, like the king, might make grants of forest rights, but these, like those made by the king, were usually very carefully defined, so that generosity did not interfere with self-interest. For example, though the priors of Durham were early granted rights of imparking at Muggleswick, they were not allowed the full rights of the chase. Perhaps the small size of the Palatinate accounted in this case for the bishop's parsimony.

The great hunting forest of the bishop, the scene of the annual great hunt, or *casa magna*, was in Weardale.³ Its origin, if it had a formal origin, is obscure, like that of some of the royal forests, which seem to date from Saxon times. Its customs are first defined in *Boldon Book*,⁴ which shows that an elaborate organization was in existence as early as the end of the twelfth century. The two following examples from this source⁵ show the scope and detail of these regulations, besides throwing much light on the main subject of this paper : the site of Cambokeels.

³ There were apparently two parks, in the western of which Edward III encamped in 1327. One was surrounded by a stone wall by bishop Neville, and it will be interesting to see whether it was provided with the deer-leaps familiar elsewhere.

⁴ Surtees Soc., vol. 25, *passim*.

⁵ loc. cit., pp. 24, 29.

All the villans of Auklandshire, to wit, of North Aukland and West Aukland, and Escomb and Newton, find at the great hunts of the bishop for each oxgang a rope, and make the bishop's hall in the forest, of the length of 60 feet and of the breadth within the posts of 16 feet, with a buttery and hatch and a chamber and privy, also they make a chapel 40 feet long and 15 feet wide and they have of charity 2s. and they also make their part of the fence round the lodges and have on the bishop's departure a whole ton of beer or half a ton if it remain.

Moreover, all the villans [of Stanhope] make at the great hunts a kitchen and a larder and a kennel, and they find a settle in the hall, and in the chamber, and carry all the bishop's corrody from Wolsingham to the lodges [and carry venison to Durham and Aukland].

The obligations of the different localities naturally varied roughly with their proximity to the great forest; but even comparatively remote parishes might be required to contribute, say hounds, to the great hunt.⁶ The purpose of the ropes is not certain, but it is probable that they were used as some sort of buckstall⁷ or trap—for making, in fact, a kind of corral, into which the deer could be driven and so more easily killed, either for the pot or by some inactive bishop or his guests, unwilling to face all the rigours of the chase. This practice was common in the Middle Ages, when hunting seems to have been less "sporting" than in later times.

The general provisions of *Boldon Book* are echoed, towards the end of the fourteenth century, in *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, and it is possible that they remained in force, with minor changes, until Weardale was disafforested about a hundred years later.⁸ The care and maintenance

⁶ e.g. Great Usworth was required to feed a horse and a hound and to bring two greyhounds and five ropes to the great hunt.

⁷ This practice existed at royal forests. On occasion, in late mediaeval or Tudor times, a kind of grandstand seems to have been erected near the probable site of the kill. Such a structure is illustrated on an early estate map in the Clarendon (Wilts) estate office.

⁸ This was probably after the lease of the forest to Richard duke of Gloucester in 1479. (V.C.H. II, 386.)

of the forest fell upon the forest officers,⁹ to which there are numerous documentary references. They seem to have resembled their counterparts of the royal forests in standing, general organization, character and misdemeanours.¹⁰

From this bare outline we can proceed to some kind of general picture. The main hunting event of the year was the great autumn hunt,¹¹ for which the inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes had to perform certain important services. The episcopal hunting-party lived in buildings apparently of a temporary character, erected by the local inhabitants, but suggesting some degree of state.¹² The main elements, indeed, of the mediæval manor-house were present: there was a hall with a great chamber at one end and buttery, pantry and kitchen at the other, and there was a tolerably commodious chapel. Beyond the principal apartments were stables, kennels and, presumably, provision for storage. A fence or perhaps a stone wall surrounded the whole group.

In the present context, an important point emerging from the accounts in *Boldon Book* and *Hatfield's Survey* is the temporary character of the buildings as described. It is hard to believe, however, that they were mere booths rebuilt every year—indeed, if Cambokeels is to be taken as an example, the quantity of pottery it has so far produced is against such a view—and it seems more likely that the same structures were re-used, for a period at least. On the other hand, their light construction would give them a limited life, so it is, perhaps, best to assume on the present rather scanty evidence that these hunting-lodges were after a time rebuilt or abandoned according to circumstances: the condition of the building, the run of the hunting, or the preference of the bishop or his forest officers. In any case,

⁹ There is a fine late thirteenth-century grave-slab to a chief forester in the crypt of Durham Cathedral.

¹⁰ e.g. extortion (1302); defalcation (1343).

¹¹ The chief quarry was apparently the red deer, but the roe deer was also hunted (the "rahunt"); the wolf was probably another quarry and wild bear was found in Durham county down to the time of Elizabeth.

¹² It was from such beginnings that some of the royal palaces grew.

it seems we must assume that there are in Weardale several sites at least of this kind, Cambokeels, it is suggested, being one. To prove this will involve much field-work. At present all that can be put forward is that some of the "unclassified" earthworks in the valley may be relics of the bishop's great hunt.

The whole question must eventually be decided by the spade. Without further digging, indeed, the nature of Cambokeels itself is not certain, for hitherto Mr. Hildyard's work has been limited to the kitchen rubbish-pit. The surface indications, however, suggest a site such as described above; so do the finds and the general situation. In short the only explanation that seems to fit the facts as known is that Cambokeels was the Melton of Weardale some time in the fifteenth century.

THE CAMBOKEELS FINDS.

So far the finds point to an occupation about the middle or the second half of the fifteenth century. Granted that the site is that of a hunting-lodge, it can historically be associated with any or all of three periods. These are: occupation by the bishop, or his representatives *c.* 1430-1476;¹³ occupation under the lease to Richard duke of Gloucester (granted 1479); occupation after the death of Richard, but before 1511, by which time disafforestation is known to have been effective.

THE POTTERY.

It is now a commonplace that mediæval pottery has marked regional characteristics. In the north, for example, the pottery of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and north Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire forms a fairly consistent regional group. The Cambokeels sherds fit very well into this northern pattern and, indeed, the site promises to yield some text-book examples of the local types. It is not desirable at this early stage to attempt a full publication of all the types found, for there is every prospect that further excavation will produce both a wider

¹³ The forest had ceased to be used as a hunting-forest on the appointment of William Dudley to the see 1476, but was leased to Richard duke of Gloucester three years later (V.C.H. II, 386).

range of types and more complete specimens. One type, however, does seem to call for illustration now, for it is found abundantly not only at Cambokeels but at many northern sites: this is the large three-handled pitcher, of which several examples are shown on fig. 2.

A word should first be said about a pitcher-series with which the Cambokeels examples are closely associated and from which they

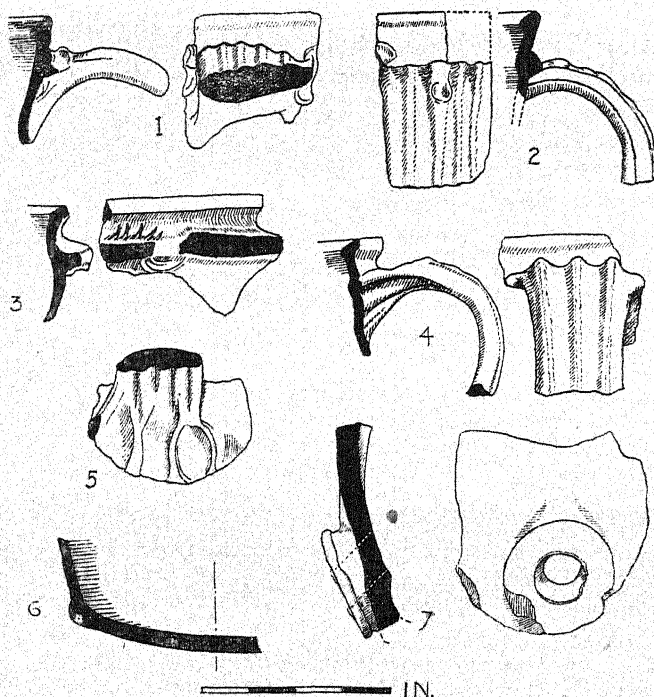


FIG. 2.

may descend. Late thirteenth and fourteenth-century sites in our region produce numbers of large pitchers, some 14 to 18 inches high, usually of smooth grey ware, with rounded base and barred or "bridge" spout. This type, though it has not been closely dated, can be compared, as to its spout and rim at least, with pitchers of the same period in the south. The fifteenth-century vessels at Cambokeels display in ware, glaze and base a strong similarity to the earlier series, but their size is rather greater and their form

shows two important differences: there is no spout and there is a bung-hole near the base to replace it.

DESCRIPTION.

All the sherds shown in fig. 2 are of smooth grey ware and have a green or brownish-green glaze of good quality on the outside.

Nos. 1-5 are necks and handles. The rim-sections show that the lip is usually sharply inclined inwards—occasionally, as in the case of no. 1, almost folded. The handles are grooved and have the usual leaf-like markings where they join the neck and body. In one case (no. 3) the neck is decorated with stitch-like markings, occasionally found on northern pitchers.¹⁴

No. 6 is a typical base. It is rather clumsily rounded and is very thick, presumably because of the weight of the vessel. The slight moulding where the base joins the wall of the pot is common but not invariable: often the angle is plain.

No. 7 is one of a number of bung-holes. The outlet is always set an inch or two above the base, presumably to keep back lees or sediment.¹⁵

The other vessels are generally homogeneous in character (there are no bridge-spout pitchers, for example) and include some examples of types not often found in the north, such as mammiform costrels. There is, however, one exception. Among the sherds—and not, Mr. Hildyard assures me, merely strays—were some fragments of a frilled base of Siegburg stoneware. Its section would readily allow a fifteenth-century dating, but its well-potted body and good clear glaze suggest the following century. It is to be hoped that further digging may provide a reason for this apparent discrepancy: at the moment, unless we modify what is known of the dating of Siegburg ware in this country, we can only say that the date of these sherds is against the run of the coins, pottery and small objects.

OTHER FINDS.

Small finds are generally in keeping with the suggested date and purpose of the site. A selection of the metal objects is illustrated in fig. 3. Only brief notes will be given here.

Horseshoes: these are of the normal late mediaeval type. They lack, however, the usual but not invariable calkins and have a marked raising of the fore-edge. (Fig. 3, nos. 1 and 2.)

¹⁴ e.g. on a jug-neck (with bridge-spout) figured in P.S.A.N., 4th ser., v, pp. 231-2.

¹⁵ The bung-hole type seems to come into prominence in the south about the same time as in the north; cp. the large jars from the Cheam pottery-kilns (Surrey Arch. Coll., xxxv, p. 93). The bridge spout may have been intended to keep back scum.

Spurs: these are of the late "rowel" type, and have the long shanks characteristic of fifteenth-century examples.¹⁶ They are iron. (Nos. 4-7.)

The buckles, of like material, while not closely datable, are of a sort common in the later middle ages. The chain and nail are also of iron and are square in section. (Nos. 3, 8, 10, 11.)

Two unusual objects call for especial notice. The first is an

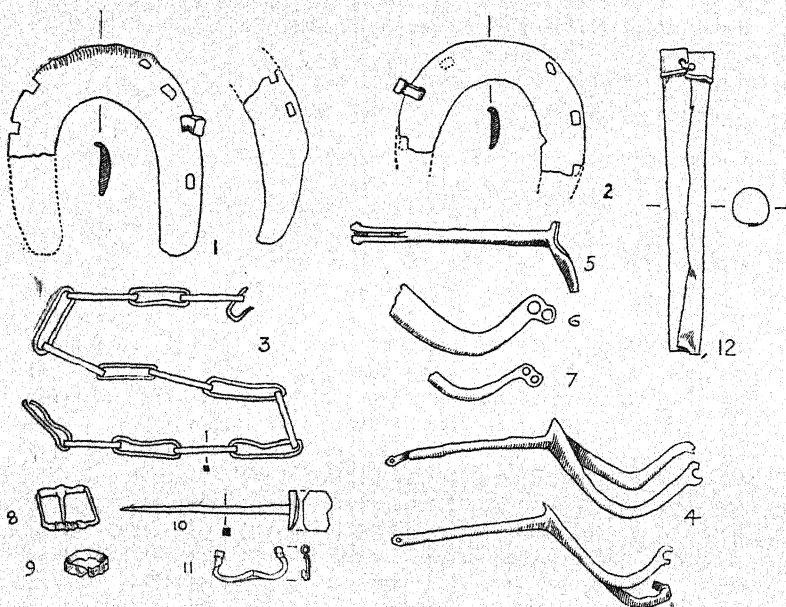


FIG. 3.

iron tripod or brandreth, for the drawing of which we are indebted to Mr. J. Seymour Lindsay. This rare find, illustrated on plate VII, retains only one leg, and that is a later repair. A feature of the object is the interesting though simple attempt at decoration by the use of incised lines both along the edges and where the legs join the ring. Brandreths of this date are exceptionally rare, probably, as Mr. Lindsay suggests, because the iron of which they were made was normally re-used.

¹⁶ London Museum Catalogue, fig. 33.

The other object is a bronze tube with the remains of a circular, detachable cap. It may have been some kind of container, and it has been suggested, though with little comparative evidence, that it was a penner. (Fig. 3, no. 12.)

There remain two groups of objects whose purpose and abundance cannot, at this stage, be readily explained. About fifteen hones were found. These vary a good deal in size and are made, Mr. Hildyard tells me, of local stone; their texture is relatively soft. A selection of them will be published in due course.¹⁷ The other group consists of some 50 small stone discs (one only is made from a pitcher sherd). They vary in diameter (from 1 in. to 5 in.) and in thickness (from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Their edges have been roughly chipped into shape; none is perforated. It seems unlikely that these objects were stoppers, and their irregularity of size is rather against their being used in a game. It is just possible that they were used in dressing skins.

CONCLUSIONS.

A few final words seem desirable to summarize the evidence and to stress the importance of the site. That it represents the remains of one of the bishop's hunting-lodges is a probable, if not a certain, conclusion. Its situation is suitable: it is convenient geographically, and it occupies a space of about the right size (and on the edge of a river-bank convenient for drainage) for such a group of buildings as is described in the records. Its position has no obvious military significance, and local conditions and such historical information as has so far been collected do not appear to favour its identification with a mediæval manor-house. Lastly, the nature of the finds requires some special explanation. The pottery, in relation to the very small area excavated, is most abundant, even for a kitchen deposit: in quantity and quality it is at least the equal of that found at any northern site. Again, the nature, quantity and quality of the other objects suggest that this remote spot

¹⁷ One obvious use is, of course, the sharpening of weapons, including doubtless the butchers' cleavers; another use might be for sharpening axes when building or repairs were done.

witnessed an occupation of a special character. But whatever further excavations may show, one thing can be stressed: the coin and pottery finds promise to provide at Cambokeels a type-site for northern mediæval pottery and small finds.

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